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INTRODUCTION

Calypso,² as defined by the Mighty Chalkdust, "captures our whole lifestyle, history, social past. It's a reflection in song of our way of life" (Liverpool 1982: 66). On the relationship between calypso lyric and melody, Warner (1982: 20) has noted:

A good calypso is usually remembered for one of two reasons; either the lyrics are outstanding or the melody is infectious. In the former case, it matters little that the melody cannot even be hummed correctly. What is said is so powerful that it stands on its own. In the latter, the lyrics are only incidental to the beauty of the tune... Naturally, the truly outstanding and unforgettable calypso is the one that manages to combine both these elements with success.

A number of people have examined the history, development, and psychological, sociological and literary nature of calypso, most notably Atilla the Hun (Quevedo 1983), Elder (1966), Rohlehr (1970, 1972, 1975), Warner (1982) and Hill (ms.). Although the study of language in calypsos has formed an important part of stylistic and other analyses (e.g., Warner 1982) the language itself of calypso has not been given systematic primary attention. In this paper, calypso lyrics from the late 19th century to the 1980's are examined to show how changes in the social and cultural milieu of Trinidad are reflected in changes in the language of calypso. After a brief discussion of the corpus of the study and the development of calypso, three sections follow: 1) the use of English and English Creole in calypso, including changes in linguistic features and rhetorical style; 2) examples of specific periods of social

and linguistic change; and 3) the change in use of languages other than English and English Creole in calypso.

CORPUS OF THE STUDY

The corpus of calypsos available to the author for this study includes about 400 recordings. The transcribed lyrics to about 300 other calypsos were also available in printed songbooks, in books about Trinidad, and in works by ethnomusicologists. However, with few exceptions, as indicated, this latter group of transcriptions has not been used, as they are not always reliable. (In all quotations from written sources, the spelling is left as in the original.)

The songs themselves can be divided into two major periods: the classical and the modern. The classical period includes: the early calypsos, from c. 1838 (date of the subject of the earliest known calypso) to 1899 (probable date of the first all-English calypso); the transitional period, from 1899 to 1930; and the classical or golden period of the 1930's and 1940's. This period ends with the post-war calypsos and the rise of the new "Young Brigade" calypsonians and the decline of the half-tone and minor key calypsos (Elder 1966). The modern period can be divided into the early modern - 1950's and 1960's, and the contemporary or post-independence period - 1970's and 1980's. Despite these divisions, it should be kept in mind that there have always been carryovers, recyclings, and exceptions.

Obviously, no recordings are available from the earliest period, although several early songs, such as "Congo Bara," were recorded in the 1930's. How reliable, typical and representative is the corpus in terms of quality of recording, choice of calypsonian and content?

Most of the tapes or discs are of reasonable sound quality, but there are places where words or phrases are not intelligible for various reasons: poor recording conditions or quality of disc in older recordings; scratches on available copies; lack of balance between music and lyrics, especially in contemporary recordings; speed of delivery, particularly in contemporary songs; and idiosyncratic physical factors such as a tendency to mumble or lack of adequate diction. In the older recordings, there was rarely opportunity to re-record masters, and some of them contain obvious mistakes or hesitations. A number of recordings show differences in the same song in versions sung at different times, or in stage, printed and recorded versions.

Despite modern calypsonians' understandable laments about the

difficulties involved in getting their calypsos recorded and made available to the public, conditions in the past were even more restrictive, and the number of recordings much lower. Most of the classical recordings, made by American recording companies such as Decca and Brunswick, featured a relatively small number of calypsonians including Executor, Atilla, Lion, Tiger, Radio, Growler, Invader, Beginner, Small Island Pride and Houdini. (No recordings have yet been found in this corpus for other famous early singers like King Fanto, Chieftain Douglas or Pretender.) During the 1950's and 1960's, there was a greater number of singers recorded, dominated by Sparrow, Kitchener (Kitch), Melody, Small Island Pride, Cypher, and Duke of Iron. During the contemporary period, more calypsonians have tried to produce their own songs, but the corpus is still weighted towards established singers such as Sparrow, Kitch, Chalkdust, Shorty [now Ras I], Shadow, Explainer, Stalin and Crazy. In all, it is probably safe to say that with some exceptions, such as early road marches, the most popular songs of the most popular singers are included, as well as a number of not-as-memorable songs by popular singers, and some popular songs by not-as-memorable singers.

Most of the calypsonians in the corpus recordings are "born Trinidadians," which begs the question of national identity. Sparrow, unquestionably the single most important calypsonian of the modern period, was himself an immigrant to Trinidad from Grenada at the age of two (a fact thrown up at him when an audience is displeased; he is otherwise claimed as Trinidad's own). Many older singers such as Executor, Atilla, and Tiger could claim some Venezuelan parentage. The widely popular Small Island Pride was a Grenadian. Others, like the contemporary Crusoe and Shadow, hail from Tobago. In view of the fact that few black Trinidadians are without "small island" blood within the last three generations, and given the overall history of the development of population and language in Trinidad (Winer 1984b), Trinidad should perhaps be considered, as Carrington (p.c.) has put it, "less a country than a context of operation." There are two additional notes on the corpus. First, many singers stayed in England or America for long periods of time, although in the corpus only a few of Houdini's recordings show any really exclusively American linguistic influence. Second, not included in the corpus are some singers, such as the Guyanese calypsonian-vaudevillian Bill Rogers, who primarily lived outside Trinidad or were known better in the United States and the rest of the West Indies.

As for subjects, certainly both early and later recordings contain a

great variety, from topical events, politics and panegyrics, to carnival, sex, and personal relations. Nonetheless, it is clear that some censorship was imposed on both language and topic of recordings as discussed below, and in Quevedo (1983) and Warner (1982).

DEVELOPMENT OF CALYPSO

Atilla, one of calypso's early giants, gave a definition (Quevedo 1983: 3) of calypso which included: its metric time, basically 2/4 or 4/4; its basic African rhythm, including lapsing into speech rhythm; and its use of "half-tone," the shortening of one antecedent note and prolongation of the subsequent one. Calypso, along with bongo, kalinda (stick-fighting), Shango and bélé (belair), is a development from African sources such as song commentary and ritual music. There are influences of Spanish music on calypso music, as well as influences of music from other islands. Even Atilla (1983: 7) admitted that some calypsos were originally formed outside of Trinidad, but it is undisputable that the calypso form developed in Trinidad "has its distinctiveness and commands the widest appeal in the Caribbean as well as in America and Europe."

In analyzing the relationship of music, prose form and language in calypso, Elder (1966: 259-266) characterized the changes in these variables as follows:

The calypsonians evolved their own system of prose-form which they fashioned upon the two-lined litany-form melodies. Terms like 'half-tone', 'single-tone', and 'double-tone' used by these singers designated the stanza size, which corresponded to melodies ranging from two to eight sections. Informants... recollect the era of transformation of the single-tone into the double-tone in calypso history. In recent times, change has reached a point where the prose-form is of the 'free-composed' type. Calypso songs could not change from litany form to strophe form in their melody without undergoing change in the prosodic form in the text. This change has been shown to be the result of the entry into the calypso field of literate singers and personnel versed in English poetry. The texts show a steady decline of the couplet stanza-form common to the older sector of the tradition, and a corresponding consistent increase in use of the large, ballad form in the newer sector of the repertory... As the tradition grew older, the prose-form of the songs changed from couplet to ballad-form and other larger sizes of stanza... Change in singer-education and in the degree of acquaintance with European literary style accounts for the change in the prosodic form of the songs.

The earliest calypsos were in French Creole (FC), called "patois" in

Trinidad. This was the lingua franca of Trinidad until the beginning of the 20th century, despite official rule by England since 1797. After full emancipation in 1838, massive influxes of immigrants, including English Creole (EC) speakers from other Caribbean countries and indentured laborers from India came to Trinidad. The British introduced English more and more into the educational system, judicial and other official proceedings, and the media. By the early 20th century, English had become the primary target language of most of the population, and English and English Creole the vernaculars used in popular and intimate domains, including calypso.

ENGLISH AND ENGLISH CREOLE IN CALYPSO

The first complete calypso in English was probably sung in 1898 or 1899; Atilla (1983: 11) and others have attributed this to Norman LeBlanc, singing in reference to the cutting of a new road in Port-of-Spain. The early recordings from the 1930's and 1940's show a marked English orientation, including a generally English pronoun system, a very high proportion of English verbal constructions such as consistently marked past tenses, and a use of wide-ranging English vocabulary. During the colonial period, education and being able to speak "proper English" were highly valued, and it is not surprising that many of the "war calypsos" – verbal battles between rival calypsonians – included insults regarding the opponent's lack of command of English, such as this example from Atilla and Lion's duet "Asteroid" (c. 1934, quoted in Quevedo 1983: 47):

I hate to tell you this but I must
 Your nonsensical oration fills me with disgust
 If there is a thing I greatly detest
 Is to hear the English language badly expressed
 You are brutalizing etymology
 And crucifying syntax and orthography
 For you are no man of psychology
 And you will never sing grammatically.

Although the early calypsonians' first language was undoubtedly EC rather than English, several of them were schoolteachers, and Atilla himself was a City Councillor in Port-of-Spain. In the public context of calypso they put a certain emphasis on English. The general orientation towards English in the early calypsos holds even though there are

many EC features in the songs – enough in many of them to provide real difficulties for foreign listeners (Winer 1984a). As Warner (1982: 28) noted:

The question of clarity is of no small importance once calypsonians think of extending their market beyond the Caribbean. Saprrow, for example, recorded two versions of "The Village Ram," the second having more "intelligible" lyrics and more "correct" English.

Distance from conservative EC and from other dialects of Caribbean EC is clearly expressed in many songs. In "Hell Yard and George Street Conflict" of 1936, Tiger quotes the conservative EC of an Indian man:

A coolie man was selling ripe fig
He said, Oh me God, no more me go live.

In his 1935 "Money is King," Tiger quotes the conservative EC of a Chinese man:

You college man, me no know ABC
You want am accra, gi am penny.

The castigation of other Caribbean EC dialects, particularly that of Grenada, is well-known in Trinidad, and appears in a number of calypsos from the 1940's and early 1950's, when large numbers of immigrants from places like Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia were attracted by economic opportunities at the U.S. military bases in Trinidad. These "small islanders" were widely perceived as putting economic pressure on the "born Trinidadian" population. Examples of such songs, which mimic and mock small island accents, include Young Kitchener's 1953 "Experience as an Immigration Officer" and Invader's 1945 "Small Island:"

The Grenadians, they's the worst of all
Hear they talk, me not [nat] goin back at all [ata:l]...
If ever you meet any Vincentian
They will tell you that I'm a Trinidadian
They improve on their speech and they speaking correctly
And they arguing educationally,
So Small Island, go back where yuh really come from.

The following song by Blakie, quoted in Warner (1982: 71), also clearly shows the discriminatory repercussions of the shibboleth stigmatized [a]:

If you see how they holding the scamps and dem
 Friends, you bound to bawl
 Some o' dem could read and spell
 But dey can't pronounce at all
 The policeman telling dem say 'pig,' you stupid man
 And as dey say 'hag' – straight inside de van. [ha:g] 'hog'

Attitudes toward EC within Trinidad have generally been at odds with its widespread use as vernacular. The characterization of Trinidadian EC as "bad English" or "broken English" has been a powerful force in education and general attitudes towards language (Carrington and Borely 1977).

However, a more recent shift, beginning roughly in the post-independence era after 1962, shows what might be considered a more aggressively positive attitude towards EC, at least Trinidadian EC, particularly in grammatical forms. Although many modern calypsos are sung virtually entirely in English, many can be seen as part of what Hill (ms.) has called the "re-Afro-creolization of calypso," in both words and music. As Carrington (1979: 10) has observed:

The evolution of socio-political self determination has resulted in rejection of some aspects of foreign culture in the region. In the wake (or possibly the vanguard) of this rejection, moves a revaluation of the creole as the vehicle of protest, the badge of Antillean identity and consequently a positive social force.

Lexical Features. There is some obvious correlation between the vocabulary of the lyrics and the song type or topic: carnival; jump-up or road march; ballad or narrative; commentary. Carnival songs of the non-narrative variety tend to have a rather limited "carnival/bacchanal, pan/jam/bam-bam" rhyme and vocabulary compared to the other types.

Within the same song, there is often variation of an apparently non-meaningful type, in repeated verses or choruses within a song, or between different recorded versions. For example, in one version of Executor's 1937 "Three Friends' Advice," the singer wears a "tickilay rag" and in another, a "taylaylay" one – both are cheap kinds of cloth. Radio often sang his famous "Matilda, Matilda, she take me money and run Venezuela" with *gone* for *run*. Such instances show differences which do not really affect the meaning.

Euphemism and Censorship. Euphemism guides lexical choice to a certain extent in both old and modern calypsos; no examples of explicit words for sexual acts or genitals have been found in the early record-

ings, which tend to be just as suggestive but more verbally obscure than the contemporary ones, such as Kitch's 1970 "Sugar Bum-bum" [but-tocks]. (Compare, for example, the treatment of homosexuality in Lion's 1940 "Whoopsin" and more openly, for example, in Nelson's 1978 "Norman.") There are exceptions, like the conventional references to *wood* and *iron* "penis" and Gypsy's "Goin fo' Cane." [foken].

Two tendencies are at work (see Warner 1982, for a fuller discussion). The first is style; it is more interesting to build up an outrageous picture without saying a single word which could be reproached. The cleverness involved in interpreting elaborate symbolic metaphor is one of the pleasures of calypso for both calypsonian and audience. Take Small Island Pride's 1953 "Taxi Driver in Venezuela" (Cook 1072, recorded in 1956; a slightly different text is quoted in Warner 1982: 108):

Boys, is now I start my fast driving
A lot of funny things start happening
You know, the wires cross one another
The water hose bus loose the radiator
Well boy, the gearbox started a grinding
This gear so hard I can't get it go in [going?]
So I pull out my gear lever
Water fly through she muffler
And the whole car went on fire.

If you hear her, stop, driver, not so fast
I said why, she said the car out of gas
I said, girl, your piston still pitching oil
Why the hell water can't wash the coil.

Perhaps the most notorious example of euphemism in the early recordings was Lion's 1937 "Nettie, Nettie," the refrain of which is: "Nettie, Nettie, gi me the thing that you have in your belly." In some versions, such as that quoted by Lion himself in his 1938 "Excursion to Grenada," describing an incident in which the singing of the original song provoked a near-riot, this was changed to a meaningless if coherent phrase such as "gi me the thing that you make with your coffee." Atilla (1983: 62) noted with scorn that the police wanted the words changed to: "give me the article in your abdomen"; not surprisingly, this never caught on. (More surprising is that while the suggested revision is more "English," it does nothing to change or obscure the original referent.)

Another classic example of changed lyrics, where the recorded version sounds almost nonsensical, is "Mary Ann." Lion's c. 1945 version has:

All day, all night, Miss Mary Ann
Down by the seaside shifting sand
Strings on her banjo can tie a goat
Water from the ocean can sail a boat.

The (or perhaps an) original version, pieced together from Naipaul (1959: 128) and individual recollections of live performances, ran:

All day, all night, Miss Mary Ann
Down by the seaside she taking man
Hair on she tuntun could tie a goat [pubic area]
Water in she cunny-hole could sail a boat. [vagina]

The second reason for euphemism or indirection, censorship, has applied particularly to recordings, and was more severe in the past. Atilla (1983: 158) cited several examples of attempts by colonial administrators to limit lyrics of a politically critical or "obscene" nature, prompting his famous retort in "Ubiquitous and Kaiso":

To say these songs are sacrilegious, obscene or profane
Is a lie and a dirty shame
If the calypso is indecent then I must insist
So is Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis
Boccaccio's tales, Voltaire's Candide
The Martyrdom of Man by Winwood Reid
Yet over these authors they make no fuss
But want to take advantage on us.

As Rohlehr (1984 pc) notes, "An early example of sexual metaphor in [recorded] kaiso, [is] Kitchener's 'Mount Olga' . . . probably early to mid 40's. There were, however, implications in the 30's calypsos. But the fierceness of the post-1934 censorship forced singers to restrain even innuendo."

Despite a more relaxed attitude towards what can be recorded these days, suggestion and euphemism still play an important role in shaping lyrics, as in Merchant's 1979 "Taxi Driver" and Wellington's 1981 "Ms. McCarty Party":

Everybody in the party feelin something,
Lord, they peelin something
Lord, they stealin something
Everybody in the party eatin something
Some of them beatin something
Say they having fun.

(Other choruses include: *coming, running, burning, choosing, using; and selling, yelling, smelling, showing, blowing.*)

Censorship is now less likely to come directly from government than community groups or radio stations, and is more likely to concern topic rather than use of particular words. In 1979, for example, Shorty's "Om Shanti Om" was withdrawn from competition by the calypsonian after objection from Hindu organizations, and "Moomoo Girl," a song about a deaf-mute girlfriend which mimicked her "language" was withdrawn from air play after some public objections to radio stations. In the latter case, a certain change in attitude to physical handicaps may be evident – Kitch's "Tie Tongue Mopsy" of the late 1940's, where he imitated a woman with a speech defect, was a huge success.

English and English Creole Choices. The creole nationalism mentioned above also acts in the lexical choices made by calypsonians. Although many old words are no longer much used in songs, there is strong orientation towards vernacular language in the lyrics. This excerpt from Matura's play "Rum an' Coca-Cola" (1976), where two calypsonians are working on a calypso, is probably typical of such considerations:

Creator: A Pretty Lady call Ruby

Was doing she housework nicely–

'Nicely', I en sure.

Bird: Tidily.

Creator: Wat is dat?

Bird: Is a word.

Creator: I en no it.

Bird: Is a word.

Creator: You make it up.

Bird: No, it from tidy, her tidy up, keeps tidy, tidily.

Creator: I en like it.

Bird: Why?

Creator: It too high class.

Bird: Dat en bad, da is point, professors an tings does come ter de tents.

Creator: You tink so?

Bird: A no so, Wisdom do use dem kinda words, people go tink you educated.

Creator: A no, but dey might tink a too educated.

(They decide on "happily.")

The emphasis on speaking "good English" during the colonial post-French Creole period tied in well with the indigenous penchant for Latinate, sonorous, rococo language discussed by Rohlehr (1972) and Abrahams (1983, ch. 2), and probably derived ultimately from verbal dueling styles in Africa. Such linguistic prowess under certain circumstances was greatly admired; pompous use of such language could elicit a scornful charge of pretentiousness. Both types might be greeted with a response of "Big English" or "talking English," admiringly or sarcastically. The use of such language had to be appropriate in both place and style. Atilla (1983: 62) noted with contempt an occasion when

a certain gentleman with a pronounced Oxonian accent ventured to offer us some suggestions as regards the words of the calypso: 'Matilda, she take my money and she gone Venezuela.' He wanted us to sing: 'Matilda absconded to Venezuela.' That is the kind of person we have making pronouncements on questions such as this.

Rococo English/EC is found in a number of calypsos. One is Executor's 1939 "Gumbo Lai Lai before the Court," quoting Gumbo Lai Lai, a well-known "old talker" and "maitre anglais" [master of English] who was also a "badjohn," that is, a criminal who uses threats or force to intimidate people. Despite his criminal actions, much of the population admired someone reported to have said "as I was cycling down the declivity at a precipitous velocity" for "as I was cycling fast downhill." In the song, Gumbo Lai Lai threatens a woman by saying "Stop your progression, woman, and don't hesitate." He was, in fact, "talking his old anglais when the police came and take him away." Calypsos on famous badjohns are now rare, although Kitch's 1978 "Jericho," about the guerilla movement in Trinidad, gives "the defiant (though fugitive) guerillas the language of threat normal to the badjohn" (Rohlehr 1985 pc).

Rococo English was also used in serious, critical calypsos, such as Atilla's 1938 "Commission's Report":

They criticize our ex-governor
The beloved Sir Murchison Fletcher
And Howard Nankivell they said that he
Had uttered speeches wrong to a marked degree
They castigated him severely
Our ex-colonial secretary
But all these things just appear to me
An example of English diplomacy.

This type of educated English was probably designed to impress the audience, both popular and governmental, of the calypsonian's serious intent and qualifications to comment. "Aspects of the oratorical calypso did become part of a 'high style' in calypso. Lion, Atilla, Pretender, and on occasion Caresser, used it for philosophical themes, e.g., Caresser's 'The Virtues of Woman' or Lion's 'It's a Sin to Tell a Lie' " (Rohlehr 1985, p.c.).

One influence on this style is the Bible, as seen clearly in Lion's 1937 "Love thy Neighbour" (last two lines courtesy of Bing Crosby):

I can speak with Biblical veracity
That love's a fashion sponsored by the divinity
And so we all should endeavor assiduously
To walk in the path of virtue and humility
For he that humbleth himself shall exalted be
And humbled will be he who fail in his vanity
So whatever we do
We should keep in mind this too
That the other man is worthwhiles
As much or more than you.
Life would be easier and time would be freasier
If you love your neighbour.

A complement to Rococo English, coming from the widespread phenomenon of word-coining in Trinidadian EC, is the nonce forms favored by calypsonians such as Atilla and Tiger. The former, for example, sings in his 1941 "If I Won a Sweepstake":

But with all of their tricks and schemeology
Don't think I'd let them borrow money from me.

Tiger, in his 1936 "Hell Yard and George Street Conflict" reports:

I went in the wang at seven-thirty
And took a seat most procidedly.

Neither *schemeology* nor *procidedly* have had a lasting status in TEC, but they might have, and doubtless other words have entered general TEC from a calypso lyric. Atilla noted (1983: 106) in 1958 that after Lion's 1940 "Whoopsin," "even today in the most polite Trinidad society the pederast and the lesbian are described as solderers and polishers" (not, however, now). Poser, in his 1979 "Ah Tell She," coined the word /wati/ (*warty?*) for marijuana;³ the word enjoyed a

vogue but does not now seem widespread. Nonetheless, the use of a new word, or the resuscitation of an old one can promote its more widespread transient or permanent use in general language. An example of such influence is the now common usage – e.g., in conversation and newspapers – of *deputy* “mistress, married person’s lover.” The word was not unknown before Penguin’s 1983 hit of the same name, but usage increased sharply afterward. It will probably become somewhat less frequent, but should remain a common word for at least some years.

The appeal of Rococo English has waned in light of the different attitudes towards language and education developed since the 1940’s, and particularly in view of increasing popular acceptance of EC as “vernacular” or “dialect.” Access to education and English in general has increased significantly and more people can use more English words. Many people, however, are insecure about “improper” use of English. In his 1965 “Well Spoken Moppers,” Sparrow pokes fun at people who use big words without knowing what they mean:

May his friends bring him joy and frustration
 Impose on him and lift him to degradation
 He’s a jolly good fellow and a kind reprobate
 Unscrupulous and always inconsiderate.

Few modern calypsonians exhibit a tendency to this style, as many of the formalized or semi-ritual uses of Rococo English in general society have also waned. The changing attitudes towards the appropriateness of EC has discouraged this style, along with the suits, hats, and other “colonial” accoutrements of the traditional calypsonian.

Robber Talk, Kalinda and War Calypsos. There is a close relationship between certain styles of calypso and other traditional cultural phenomena. A part of calypso, both musical and lyrical, associated with a special set of carnival mas (masquerade) and kalinda traditions is definitely decreasing as those phenomena themselves are either dying out, becoming less well-known, or becoming more isolated.

Kalinda influence is seen not only in music but in choice of language and set phrases. Kalinda was banned by the British colonial government, and though it continued and was still played, and though its character and associated phrases are still fairly well-known, it has now by no means the cultural importance it once had. In the 1930’s, record companies found there was a market for kalinda songs, for the more “old fashioned” – compared with the newer ballad calypsos, for exam-

ple – types of kalinda calypsos such as those with call and response, of which Caresser's 1937 "Edward the VII" is perhaps the best known, with its refrain

It's love, and love alone
That caused King Edward to leave the throne.

Other heavily kalinda influenced calypsos include Invader's 1941 "Ten Thousand to Bar me One." Some of the old calypsos are in fact virtual translations of FC kalinda songs, such as Growler's 1939 recording of "In the Morning":

In the morning when I wake
Peter Agent bar me by the gate.

Believe me friends, I am in dread
Peter Agent want to kill me dead.

One set phrase taken directly from kalinda into many calypsos was *sandeemaneetay* from *sans humanité*, "without mercy". This tag always had the same melody at the end of a stanza, and was understood as present in context even when not actually sung.

The war calypsos, direct descendants of kalinda songs, are filled with "rope talk" [threats] and closely related to "robber talk" (see below.)⁴ In these challenge calypsos, such as Atilla and Lion's "Asteroid" quoted above, physical boasts and threats are mixed with scoffing at the opponent's inability to handle not only "bois" [wood, kalinda stick] but language.

A number of the war calypsos include phrases associated with kalinda, as in Houdini's 1931 "Arima Tonight, Sangre Grande Tomorrow Night":

Arima tonight, Siparee on Saturday night
It's a delizo [confrontation, fight] that is bound to end in a fight
I don't want to know, I am marching to face the foe
Send and let them know, Papa Houdini deye yo. [Is behind/after them]

In typical kalinda style, the chorus calls out "mango!" after each line, a reference not to the fruit, but like "poui!" to the kind of wood that good kalinda sticks are made of. A particularly famous calypso which combines elements of kalinda and war calypsos is Small Island Pride's "Carnival Celebration" (Mastifay and Cut-Outter are two famous stick-fighters):

Well, I waiting for this carnival
Is to jump up with these criminals
I'm going to arm meself with a big stick
Any man in town I meet that is real licks
Cause I done tell mamee already

Mamee, doodoo, tie up your belly
Cause it's murder, federation, with war and rebellion
When they bar me by the junction
I going down

Mastifay, Mastifay, meet me down by the Kwaizay
Cut-Outter, Cut-Outter, meet me down by Green Corner.

The carnival character of the Midnight Robber (see fuller descriptions in Crowley 1956 and Hill 1972) is characterized by speeches – “monologues rattled off at prospective victims who are harangued until they pay a ransom to secure their release. The language of the Robber is...full of empty threats and braggadocio” (Hill 1972: 91), e.g.:

For the day my mother gave birth to me, the sun refuse to shine and the wind ceased blowing. Many mothers that day gave birth, but to deformed children. Plagues and pestilence pestered the cities, for atomic eruption ranged in the mountains. Philosophers, scientists, professors said “the world is come to an end” but no, it was me, a monarch, was born. Master of all I survey and my right where none could dispute.

Compare this speech with a verse from the calypso “War” recorded in 1937 by Atilla, Lion, Caresser and Executor:

The earth is trembling and tumbling
And heroes are falling and all
Because the Lion is roaring
My tongue is like the blast of a gun
When I frown, monarchs I want to bow down to the ground
Devastation, destruction, desolation and damnation
All these I'll inflict on insubordination
For the Lion in his power is like the Rock of Gibraltar

War calypsos were revived in the 1950's with such songs as Melody's “Turn Back, Melo” and “Alexander the Murderer” and Sparrow's “Don't Touch Me,” “Royal Gaol” and “Hangman Cemetery” – all full of threatening rope talk. Some half-tone kalinda-calypsos from the 1950's, such as Kitch's “Trouble in Arima” (1956) and Sparrow's “Ten to One is Murder,” are in chorus-response style. But despite some

attempts to revitalize the form, such as Crazy's 1979 "War," this also appears to be a dying style.

Barely a handful of Trinidadians can now really play the Midnight Robber; carnival masquerades, such as the Pierrot Grenade, which involve particular and extensive kinds of language, are also fast disappearing. Although a detailed analysis of the reasons for this decline are beyond the scope of this paper, it is clearly related to the change of the traditional structures of Trinidadian society and culture.

Admittedly, the traditional masks are declining. This decline is due to the attraction of big historical and fantasy bands, and the desire to enlarge costumes beyond utility, in the belief that the more elaborate the costume, the better chance of winning a prize. A further reason is the growing professionalism in carnival, whereby one or a few band organizers take full responsibility for providing costumes and floats, while the general members simply select which role they wish to play and pay the cost over to the organizer. The days of personal involvement with choosing, making, and rehearsing a masquerade character are fast disappearing (Hill 1972: 87).

The loss of a living French Creole language has affected not only Pierrot Grenade, whose speeches were in FC, but, as discussed below, the language of calypso. The orientation towards the modern and the American, and the rejection of traditions associated with slavery and colonialism have affected calypso as well.

Grammatical Features. In many, if not most, calypsos of both periods, lyrics show EC features. In no recorded calypsos, however, have the most conservative forms of TEC such as verbal aspect markers *bin* or *da* been found, and the object marker *am* only in quotation. There are a very few examples of the negator *eh* or *ent* in the classical group, e.g., Lion's c. 1947 "Fan Me, Saga Boy," whereas by the contemporary period this feature is common; in 1979 alone there were three calypsos entitled "Money eh no Problem" after this same remark was made by Prime Minister Dr. Eric Williams.

Unmarked verbs in past tense, a classic definer of EC, appear in both classical and modern calypsos, but usually together with marked forms. Initial investigation of this area shows a greater proportion of unmarked forms in the modern calypsos than in classical ones; and a greater proportion of marked irregular verbs as opposed to regular verbs. "Green verbs," a TEC term for the hyper-correct lack of English agreement of subject and verb, were only found in the older songs. Examples such as Tiger's "she were looking resplendently" and "I were walking," from the 1939 "Senorita Panchita," would be ridiculed in a modern calypso tent unless in quotation or to ridicule pretensions.

(Note that *'they was'* would not necessarily be considered "green" as this is an acceptable form in TEC.)

Although, as Elder pointed out, the language in calypso lyrics reflects the educational level and linguistic competence of the calypsonian, there is undoubtedly considerable conscious or unconscious reflection of the status of English and EC as vernacular languages, appropriate for calypso, as shown in the following scene about the calypso lyric composing process from Matura's play "Rum an' Coca-Cola" (1976: 17):

Creator: Ruby decide—

Bird: Creator, you en think 'decide' too big.

Creator: Nar, is a good word, 'decided' too big but not 'decide'.

Bird: Awright.

Creator: Ruby decide to go inside.

Bird: Yes, and dis wat she saw.

Creator: 'Saw', whey dat come in?

Bird: Ruby see dem.

Creator: Well say dat, say see she see, Ruby decide to go inside, and dis wat she see.

Competence in English here is clearly secondary to the perceived primacy of EC forms in calypso.

Of particular interest are apparently free variations of a grammatical nature. Use of *she* or *her*, for example, can depend on: a) whether the intent is to rhyme with, say, *city* or *order* (Warner 1982: 36); b) speaker competence; and c) speaker's choice of English vs. English Creole. Often there appears to be no reason for variation, as in the opening to Invader's 1941 "Ra Tiray Tiray" in which both *use(d) to* and *uses to* are found in exactly the same position:

Some people argue the songs of long ago

Uses to be better calypso

They must be mad

Some people argue the songs of long ago

Used to be better calypso

Phonological Features. The corpus recordings are an invaluable source of information for the study of phonological features over time.⁵ A considerable degree of idiosyncratic, regional, social and historical variation in pronunciation is evident in the recordings. Tiger, for example, has a marked Siparia "country" accent, and like a number

of older singers has an occasional intervocalic intrusive (r), not found in any modern calypsos: e.g., "So then I macha palanta (r) at my family" (1939, "Senorita Panchita") or Lion's 1947 "Fan Me, Saga Boy" – "Bring yuh saga (r) in me house romancin." (This feature is so far unattested as a contemporary TEC feature, and warrants further study.) None of the older singers show the stigmatized /a/ except in quotations. The older group also has an overall higher percentage of the English /ə/ and /ɒ/ where the Creole has /t/ and /d/ as in *ting* "thing" and *dat* "that", although there is again individual variation. The contemporary group varies as well; the higher use of /t/ and /d/ correlates with the more aggressive overall use of EC grammar and lexicon.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND LINGUISTIC CHANGE

Change in the occurrence of lexical items can be linked to a number of factors, not least the disappearance of words for items or cultural practices no longer extant. Calypsos are a valuable way of establishing time boundaries for cultural relevance of particular words. The following examples contain words which are no longer common because the referent – thing or practice – is no longer common:

Long time by the market
We used to hear the man with "Palet" [sweet ice on a stick]
I don't care what anyone say
The ice man have the best "lavuay" [voice, street call]

Melody, singing Pat Castagne's "The Ice Man," 1960 (written transcription)

When you love a girl long ago
You could hardly have told her so
Then she would invariably
Invite you to write her family. [formal marriage proposal]

Atilla, c. 1940's, (1983: 42)

Sometimes a word in a calypso is an ephemeral nonce or slang word which does not last, e.g. "polishers":

No more bench and board
No more flora again (floor)

Houdini, No More Bench and Board, (1931)

although older informants recognize it. The longevity of nonce formations, as discussed above, is quite variable, becoming long-term or short-term slang, or continuing in the general vernacular.

Sometimes the meaning of a word changes. The original referent disappears and the word continues by the extension of a semantic field in the original word to a new referent. Not many teenagers in Trinidad today would define a "sagaboy" in his splendid "drape" the way Fermor did (1950: 175), from the saga-pants, "held up by transparent plastic belts" with pleats which "like scimitars run down to an unusual fullness at the knee, where they begin to taper" to the Bim-Bim or Saga-Boy-coat, with "no padding in the shoulders, a wasp waist, a vent up the back and lappets that descend . . . as low as the voluminously trousered knee" and not forgetting the "broad snap-brim hat, the pastel shirt with deep cuffs fastened with glittering links" and ties with "the splendour of lanced ulcers." But *à l'époque*, this style was the cause of considerable attention from calypsonians, from Radio's plaintive 1941 "My Girl Mabel":

Mabel, why you act so bad
Tell me why you pelt me drape in the yard.

to Lion's attack of jealousy, in "Fan Me, Saga Boy," c. 1947:

Just because me blouse ent long
And me pants ent draping with a waist by me shoulders
You wait until I went out on a Xmas evening
And you bring you saga in me house romancing.

Nowadays, a "sagaboy" still wears very stylish and flamboyant clothes, such as a "saga shirt" – brightly colored and often shiny – and is generally very well turned out, but the clothing referent is clearly not the same. Some of the concurrent associations with the earlier sagaboy image – sweet-talking, conceited, unemployed womanizer – remain, but not as strongly.

Colonial Period. The years between 1797 and 1962 were not a time of blind acceptance of government policies – local or Crown – although patriotic calypsos praising royalty or supporting Britain's war efforts were common. References to the king are found, as in Caresser's 1937 "Theodore":

To get rid of you I'll do anything
I'll even give my life to the king.

and in Lion's 1947 "Fan Me, Saga Boy":

Long live our gracious king
But I kiss me saga boy, Christmas morning.

The best-known colonial phrase was *in this colony*, a tag ending which often replaced the earlier FC kalinda-calyпсо refrain *sandeemaneetay* (In later calypsos, this was often replaced by *universally*, or left lyrically blank. The musical place for this phrase, as well as the phrase itself, disappeared with the decline of the double-tone mi-minor calypsos at the end of the 1940's, that is, before independence.) As discussed above, the colonial period was characterized by an English orientation, and a high oratorical style was considered more educated.

Yankee Period. The economic and social impact of the World War II American military bases in Trinidad was enormous. A number of calypsos address the situation and its attendant problems directly, most notably Invader's "Rum and Coca-Cola" and Sparrow's "Jean and Dinah." Although more common in literature than calypsos, one linguistic influence is the use of war-time American and Trinidadian vocabulary such as *moll* "girlfriend," *mopsy* "girl," *spoot* "promiscuous woman," *rat* "prostitute" and *Yankee sufferer* "a woman who goes out with a Yankee." Another is the putting on of Yankee accents, as in Radio's "Brown Skin Gal" of the later 1940's. In a 1950 recording of his "Rum and Coca Cola," Invader is most offended by the Andrews Sisters' pirate version:

I wonder what is your interested opinion
We haven't got no bad speaking Trinidadian
We never said "Caca Cola"
Neither did we say "Yankee dolla."

Keeping in mind the comments earlier about the attitudes of many Trinidadians toward small islanders and their accents, the Andrews Sisters' attempts to imitate a Trinidadian accent probably annoyed Invader because to him they made him sound like a Grenadian. That is, his "dollar" /dala:/ was picked up by the American singers as /dala:/, in contrast to the American /dælər/ and fronted enough to sound like the stigmatized /dala/. On the other hand, Invader pronounces the drink in

TEC fashion as /koko kolo/ and interprets the Andrew Sisters' /koko/ as the taboo /kaka/ "feces."

The war and the military bases also provided inspiration for extended military-sexual metaphors, such as those in Duke of Iron's 1940's "Convoy" and Lion's 1947 "Fan Me, Saga Boy" (probably based on an earlier Jamaican mento song "Fan Me, Solja [Soldier] Man"):

*I even notice some naval action.
Because I saw him with his destroyer
While you were getting ready with your mine sweeper
He shot a torpedo at your ship and miss
But dropped his bombs in your captain's office.*

The 1940's were a turning point for cultural and linguistic orientation for much of the Trinidadian population. While England and British English remained the general metropolitan norm, the American influence was significant. By the 1960's and 1970's, the United States was a greater target of emigration for Trinidadians than England, and access to U.S. media, songs, education, visits and employment increased. No calypsonian generally tries to sound American, however, even if, like Nelson, he resides mostly in the U.S. The phenomenon of "fresh-water Yankees," that is, Trinidadians who put on an American accent, often without ever having been outside Trinidad, was not found in the calypsos in general. The language of calypso is such an important point of popular social identification that calypsonians use American referents as subjects only, like criticizing New York, or referring to popular television programs. American influence in the culture at large is both welcome and suspect; calypso itself is often pushed out by American rock and roll and soul music.

Rastafarian Period. In the late 1970's, "dread talk" – language associated with Rastafarianism in Jamaica – began to spread with the ideology and mores, to a general level of awareness in Trinidad (see Pollard 1982). In 1978, Sparrow's "Rastamania" and Chalkdust's "Rasta Language" addressed the phenomenon more or less sympathetically. In 1979, there were calypso hits like Explainer's "Dread," and Stalin's "Kaiso Gone Dread." Most of these songs are supportive of Rasta beliefs and practices and highly critical of discrimination and persecution directed at Rastas. However, there has also been considerable public and media criticism, and some calypsos like Funny's 1979 "Imitation Rasta," of Rastas or people proclaiming to be Rastas, as being obnoxious and criminal. With some calypsonians, such as Shorty, becoming full-fledged Rastas and the movement expanding, Rasta

linguistic influence in general and in calypsos grew, as in the 1985 "I Music" by Boogsie Sharpe. Reggae, a prime transporting medium for dread talk, is widely played in Trinidad, often in competition with calypso, especially outside the carnival-calypso season. Rastafarian identification as a form of Caribbean-indigenous ideological protest will probably continue, and dread talk can be expected to also.

LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH AND CREOLE IN CALYPSOS

Virtually no one under the age of 30 really speaks or understands well any of the many languages – Amerindian, European, African, Indian, French Creole – that have at one time or another been widespread in Trinidad (Carrington, Borely and Knight 1974; Winer 1982). Until well into the 20th century, French Creole was the most widespread vernacular and the true lingua franca of the country. Sizable portions of the population spoke Spanish or Hindi-Bhojpuri as a first language. The general pressures of language of education, prestige, media, courts, etc., which so often lead to language death (Dorian 1981), have also operated in Trinidad. Although no languages besides English and EC survive intact, they have not died instantly and totally. A considerable amount of the TEC lexicon is derived from languages other than English. Older people may continue to use these languages in conversation. Movies and songs in Indian languages, particularly Hindi, are popular. In this section, three specific areas – domain-reference, quotation, and titillation – are proposed as ways of examining language retention and language death in calypso lyrics.

French Creole. The earliest calypsos were in French Creole (FC). Atilla (1983: 9) quoted a song based on a massacre in 1838:

Ambas pons Marabella,
C'est la meme moen perdi gangan moen (×2)
C'est la meme yo blesse mun one [sic] moen
Ambas pons Marabella
C'est la meme moen perdi gangan moen.

Under the Marabella bridge
It's there I lost my grandmother (×2)
It's there they wounded my uncle...

Other FC calypsos are quoted from this period (Quevedo 1983: 9–10), including one about the tarring of a colonial official and another about the famous "Congo Bara," probably a prison trustee:

Prisonier levez, mettes lumiere bai Congo Bara
 Deux eslave courri sortie Tunapun'
 Congo ba yo bois fair yo devire.

Prisoners, wake up and put a light for Congo Bara,
 Two slaves ran away from Tunapuna,
 Congo beat them with a stick and made them return.

The gradual anglicization of Trinidad was not really widespread until after the turn of the 20th century, well into the 1920's in many areas, and the 1950's in a few. By the mid-19th century, British administrators, frustrated with a population that did not understand the laws by which it was governed, increased the amount of English used and available by establishing English-medium schools, judicial proceedings, church canon, and media. Massive immigration from EC-speaking areas after emancipation provided not only a source of EC but a large number of bilingual FC-EC speakers. The facilities of the population were reflected in calypsos. Typical of the early classical period was code-switching between FC and EC within the same song. In a 1930's recording of the much earlier "Fire Brigade," Atilla sings all the verses in FC and the refrain alone in EC:

Fire Brigade, water the road
 Ah, mwen pa tini mama-o

Ah, I have no mother

A number of macaronic FC-EC calypsos can be cited; in general a song seems to be sung mostly in one language with inclusions of the other, e.g., Pharoah's 1903 song, quoted in Quevedo (1983: 12):

Holder, you cruel murderer
 C'est ou qui choue Eva
 Perry waiting with the rope
 To break your manima.

It's you who killed Eva
 ...carryings on/manner/actions

In 1935, the Keskidee trio (Atilla, Beginner and Tiger) recorded "Congo Bara" mostly in English, with whole "set" lines from the original version in FC:

The Greyhound drop me at Tunapun'
 Congo bai yo bwa fe yo devire

Congo beat them with a stick
 and made them return

After 1920 or so, calypsos were sung primarily in English and EC; the inclusion of FC, as well as other languages, can be classified in three categories. The first, domain-reference, is noticeable when the singer is referring to an activity associated with that language, the most frequent such domain for FC being kalinda. The FC parts of the calypsos are often treated as a repeated refrain, as in "Fire Brigade" quoted above, or as a set chorus, even in verse position, as in Invader's 1939 recording of Sophie Bellah," the old calypso attributed to Norman Le Blanc:

Why, aye aye aye aye, Sophie Bellah	
Mete limié bai yo (X)	Put a light for them (i.e.,
Mete limié English calypso	put a spell on them)
Why, aye aye aye aye, Sophie Bellah	
Mete limié bai yo	
Why, aye aye aye aye, Mama	
Listen to the sweet kalinda.	

Similarly, FC is found in Tiger's 1938 "Down the Road" (probably based on an earlier Fitz MacLean song), about a woman with wayward children:

Down the road, mama, down the road (X2)	
Yuh children too harden, they doesn't feel	
In that prison channel they bound to yield.	
Tom Keene that made the attack	
And Simms with the cutlass behind his back	
Brown Boy pa kone danjé	B.B. knew no danger/fear
Matura desan Morunday.	M. attacked/killed M.

The people referred to are stick fighters or badjohns; the last two lines are an old kalinda refrain about a fight.

The second use, quotation, is found in many calypsos when the singer is relating a story and quoting directly what someone said in another language, e.g., Executor's 1939 "Gumbo Lai Lai Before the Court: (note his bilingualism):

Now the lady was walking all the way alone
 Thinking of the children that she had at home
 When suddenly she yeard, "Rito, rito rate"
 Stop your progression, woman, and don't hesitate.
 Se mwen, Gumbo Lai Lai, ki mait anglé"
 And the woman said, "kité, mwen passé"
 So he was talking his old anglais
 When the police came and took him away.

...It is I, Gumbo, Lai Lai, who
is master of English
And the woman said, Stop, I
passing/let me pass,
So he was talking his old English...

Several songs recounting the history of carnival or song include titles and quotations from FC songs – often not calypsos. Atilla refers to such music in his 1935 “History of Carnival”:

We used to sing long ago
Nou ni youn sein pou seine yo We have a seine to catch them

Some of the songsters I can remember
Were Marlborough and Executor
And Black Prince, Hero and Lionel
Edward the Confessor whom I knew well
They used to sing “Mama Mourio” [a FC folksong]

And in Invader’s “Ra Tiray Tiray”:

Some people argue the songs of long ago
Uses to be better calypso...
Do you remember, why aye aye
“Madame O, soti la” [a FC folksong, “Madame Ophelia”]

Titillation is the third motive for singing sexually provocative or explicit parts in another language – to heighten the wickedness by partial hiding of the meaning from those not in the know, especially by singing in “French,” often considered intrinsically “sweeter” or sexier than English. Such examples are often quotations as well, as in this example from Lion’s 1937 “Nettie, Nettie”:

A patois woman di Madame Maxwell
Sé sa mwen ka kwié lavai Noel
You better pull yuhself and leh me shake me deviwé
Gadé deye mwen, sé sa mwen vlé
Ou pa konet bagai-la sho
Lesé mwen fé manima, avan mwen mo.

A patois woman said, Madam Maxwell
That’s what I call a real Christmas Eve,
You better pull yourself and let me shake
my backside
Look at my behind, that’s what I want
You don’t know the thing hot?
Let me make my moves, before I die.

A similar example is found in Executor's 1937 ode to music merchant Sa Gomes, "The Bells":

At Charlotte Street you can also go,	
The best of things you can find, you know...	
An old lady lift up her dress that day	
Zot ba mwen le, mwen vlé dingolé.	Give me room, I want to move it.

Sparrow has used FC extensively in songs like "Zinah" and "Levé Maco" from the 1970's, but the most famous modern recording in the corpus to use FC was Sparrow's "Sa Sa Yay" of 1969, in which the quotational-titillational use of FC is clear:

A pretty lil Martiniquan girl	
Oh well, she come for the carnival	
She want to play with George Bailey	
But she eh have no money at all.	
I tell she I go pay for she	
But she got to spend the night with me	
She consented but when we began	
If you hear how this Martiniquan bawl, ch-ch	
Sa sa yé, sa sa yé	What is that? [i.e., his penis]
Bonjé, misié ou ka choué mwen	Good God, man, yuh killin me
Levé, levé, levé, levé	Get up, get up, get up, get up
Ouvé la port-la garson	Open the door, boy
Mwen ka allé	I'm going
Sa sa yé, sa sa yé	
Bonjé, Sparrow ou ka choué mwen.	

Despite such valiant efforts, the use of FC in Trinidad has become vestigial, although many FC words have become part of Trinidadian EC. Calypsos entirely or partly in FC were recorded in the 1930's, but were considered archaic even then; no extensive use of FC could be made now if it was intended to be widely understood. With the exception of Shorty, Sparrow is the only contemporary calypsonian to use FC, and his usage is more an idiosyncratic than general phenomenon. Interestingly enough, in Crazy's 1979 "Guadeloupe Chick," about a young and presumably French or FC-speaking Guadeloupean woman, there are no FC words at all, and she is quoted in English – titillation enough perhaps that she is "French."

Spanish. During the 1820's disturbances along the Spanish Main led to considerable migration of peons – people of mixed Spanish, African and Amerindian descent – from Venezuela to Trinidad. Spanish was spoken as a first language in places like Lopinot, Valencia, and San

Rafael, but was rarely learned as a second language by others. Few young people today are really natively competent in Spanish.

Spanish language and musical forms have been closely associated with parang and other Christmas songs in Trinidad, and Spanish musical influence can be seen in some calypsos, as in the joropo-like rhythm of Tiger's 1936 "Blue Basin." The domain references of Spanish in the corpus include references to parang, as in Crazy's 1979 "Parang Soca" in which language play is very conscious:

I took the role of lead singer
Parang-rama in Arima
Fans heard of my parang band
So thousands flock the grand-stand
Dave Elcock was the M.C.
When he introduce me
People jumping like carnival
To my rendition of sernal.
Alpagatta, alpagatta
Uno rum, uno paratha
Maria, Maria, Maria mi corazon.

Note the mixture of real Spanish – *mi corazon* "my heart/love" and *sernal* (a type of song); TEC derived from Spanish – *alpagata* (a type of sandal, from Spanish *alpargata*); the Spanish *uno* "one" with the English *rum*; and the Hindi-derived TEC word *paratha* (a kind of bread) whose final vowel gives it a Spanish sound, although every Trinidadian knows that the word is Indian. As Rohlehr (1985 pc) has noted for this song, "the very act of parody signals the death or inaccessibility of the language."

Another instance of domain reference is Sparrow's 1984 "Grenada Man," in which reference to Cubans is the reason for using Spanish:

I want to go back to Grenada
To teach the Cubans how to fight
They let America take over
Complaining about Reagan's might
Lord I hear, everywhere
Is only bombs in the town
People running helter-skelter
Looking for a place to shelter
Señor, por favor,
La manera que tengo mi corazon
Viva viva viva la revolucion
If Cuba had arrested Coard and Austin
America wouldn't-a have excuse to come in.
Llevame a Grenada, llevame (X2)
Judas, Lucifer and Jezebel mustn't get away.

Mister, please,
the way I feel
Long live the revolution

take me back

Although a certain fluency in Spanish is evident, and Grenada is pronounced first /grɛnaɪdʒ/ in English and then /grɛnada/ in Spanish, the Spanish is not idiomatic. Nonetheless, Sparrow evidently expected this much Spanish to be understood or at least tolerated.

There is quite a bit of Spanish in calypsos in which the singer refers to a woman from Venezuela, as in Melody's 1950s "Juanita, My Sweet-heart from Venezuela" and Tiger's 1939 "Señorita Panchita":

As I were walking down Frederick Street	
A pretty señorita was enchant to meet	
She said buenas tardes, señor	good evening
Como la está usted	how are you
Aquí estoy yo batallando	I'm struggling along
That's what I said...	
She said dónde vive and she began	...where do you live...
I told her señorita, me no compran	...I don't understand
She said El Tigre, mi amor, you I love...	Tiger, my love...
So then I macha palanto at my family	...went quickly...
She said chico hombre levanta	...hey man, get up
Yo me voy pa' abajo Camila	I'm goin down by Camila's
I took her by her hands and we began to walk	
Hear the child, mingling Spanish old talk.	

This quotational use of Spanish is also seen in Sparrow's 1983 "Margarita." But whereas Tiger's Spanish reflects a native-like dialectal grasp of Spanish, Sparrow's song contains only the sort of "universal Spanish" that can be recognized by people who "don't know Spanish": *sombrero, caballero, mañana, mamacita, and rancho*.

In Tiger's 1938-39 "Civil War in Spain," he talks of going to Spain to reclaim his ancestral heritage, and even states:

Then I'll change up Spain entirely
 And bring it as the land of La Trinity...
 I'll build a tent to practice annually and so
 We can sing Spanish calypso.

but there is no Spanish at all in the entire song. In view of the virtual death of native Spanish in Trinidad, it is unlikely that more Spanish will be included in calypsos, especially as there is no real tradition of Spanish calypsos. On the other hand, in view of increasing emphasis on relations with Venezuela and other Caribbean Spanish-speaking countries, and on Spanish in schools, there might well be more Spanish in

future calypsos; it is, however, unlikely to come from a native Trinidadian speaker of Spanish.

Hindi-Bhojpuri. The first immigrants from India came to Trinidad in 1845 as agricultural indentured laborers; by 1970 Trinidadians of Indian origin comprised almost 40% of the population. In several areas of the country, Indian communities remained relatively isolated until well into the 20th century, and there has developed an often uneasy relationship between African and Indian cultures in Trinidad, with the general dominance of the Afro-Creole culture. A number of Indian languages have been widely spoken in Trinidad in the past, notably Hindi-Bhojpuri, Tamil and Bengali. Few younger people are truly competent in Hindi (as Bhojpuri, the most common Indian language in Trinidad is called) although there is a flourishing market for Indian movies and music, mostly in standard Hindi.

There have been very few Indian calypsonians, and, as in the creole dominated culture at large, musical influence has primarily gone from calypso to Indian musical forms rather than vice-versa (Mohammed 1982: 68-72). (Indians as subjects of calypsos are not considered here.) The first apparent use of an Indian language in the corpus is a quotation in Beginner's 1933 "Treasury Fire":

Rum flowed fast that a boat could sail
A fellow was dipping up with a pail
The flames ascended up like a bird
All sorts of languages you should have heard
French woman shouted, *mi difé* look fire
A Indian say *amnodjane!* [?]

Atila (1983: 86) cited Killer's 1946 calypso "Grinding Massala" (also recorded in the 1950's by Peter Pitts) as one which incorporated Indian rhythms, but does not mention lyrics. Quite a few calypsos in both classical and modern periods have included Hindi words. An early example is found in Invader's 1941 "Ra Tiray Tiray":

Those were the songsters of long ago
They used to sing, married man in the slaughterery
Sweetman eating talkaree (an Indian dish)
Yuh run, yun run, yuh run, and why yuh run?

In fact, most Hindi words in calypsos are domain referenced for food, clothing and kinship terms. A typical example of the first is found in Lion's 1936 "Bargee Pelauri" (from a written transcription):

Though depression is in Trinidad } ×2
 Maintaining a wife isn't very hard }
 Well, you need no ham nor biscuit nor bread
 for there are ways that they can be easily fed
 Like the coolies.
 On bargee pelauri... and dalpuri
 Channa paratha and the alu ke talkaree.

Lion may have lived as a young man among East Indians in San Fernando, presumably becoming familiar with this milieu. Shorty, who grew up in a Hindi-speaking area, has sung choruses in Hindi in a number of calypsos, such as "Indian Singers" (1965), "Indrani" (1973) and "Kalo Gee Bull Bull" (c. 1974). These songs show both quotation and titillation, and a general domain reference of an Indian setting. Shorty's most famous calypso using Indian language was the 1979 "Om Shanti Om." Originally intended to portray Hindu religious traditions with sympathy and respect, the song was withdrawn from play because of protests from the orthodox Hindu community, who were outraged at the association of a sacred religious chant with carnival.

Sparrow's Marajhin series – 1982 – "Marajhin," 1983 – "Marajhin Sister," and 1984 – "Marajhin Cousin" – uses a considerable amount of Hindi. The 1984 song is basically a set of cooking instructions. "Marajhin" includes not only kinship and clothing terms

When I see you in your sari or your ohrni	scarf
I am captured by your innovative beauty	
If it wasn't for your nani and your bhowji	Mother's mother, older
I would marry you and take you in the country.	brother's wife
Marajhin, Marajhin, oh my sweet doolahin,	bride/sweetheart
Saucy Marajhin, sexy Marajhin, racy Marajhin, all right	

but also several lines of romantic poetry in Hindi.

It should be noted that Sparrow does not always use Hindi words in their "correct" traditional meanings. Furthermore, not everyone is agreed on the possible connotations of a young Indian woman being addressed as "doolahin," particularly when used by non-Indian males, when it is often considered teasing of a rude or sexually threatening sort. It will be interesting to see whether Sparrow's use of Hindi words in popular calypsos encourages or influences the use of such words among the non-Indian parts of the population.

Increasing mutual musical influence of the Indian and Afro-Creole cultures is found in many compositions. A number of Trinidadian

musicians have used Indian musical instruments and sounds. A number of Indian singers and singer-composers such as Sundar Popo have been singing traditional Indian song types, many calypso-influenced, with English words. (This is a flourishing genre in Guyana.) One of the hits of the 1985 calypso season, "Kutchi Gadbad Hai," is lyrically a traditional Indian popular song, sung entirely in Hindi, but arranged to a full-fledged calypso rhythm with some Indian instrumentation. Given the increasing prominence of Indian cultural forms in the general cultural scene in Trinidad, and Indian Trinidadians' increasing political power, it is likely that more Indian musical and linguistic influence will appear in calypsos.

Yoruba. The Africans – slave and free – who were brought to Trinidad spoke a number of languages, particularly Yoruba, Congo, Ibo and Mandingo. Warner (1971) notes the survival in Trinidad of some African languages, especially Yoruba, into the 1950's. Most of this language, however, was contained in rituals, songs and prayers. Although she collected over 150 songs, Warner found very little conversational Yoruba, and there is no known Trinidadian native-born speaker of any African language today. However, African languages continue in TEC through influences on vocabulary, phonology and grammar (Alleyne 1980).

Songs with Yoruba words and phrases were recorded in the 1930's like the Keskidee Trio's "Shango." Like their Baptist hymn-calypso "Go Down the Valley" of 1935, these were serious and respectful songs, difficult to classify as calypsos – the very difficulty showing the influence of traditional African songs on calypso (and on Spiritual Baptist songs). The most well-known calypso including Yoruba is Tiger's "Yoruba Shango," recorded in 1936 and again in 1979, in which the ritual chants are given in Yoruba (translation by Tiger to Spottswood, p.c.) and the rest is sung in English/EC:

I went to see but I did not know	} ×2
Unfortunately, friend, I find meself in Shango	
I mean the power had me that night	
To see me dancing with all me might	
And they singing	
Tina-o, Tina-bo, neebo, adessa	Tina, who went away, repent and
Ah -Tina re ke pa.	return
	Tina, beg pardon of your father

This striking example of domain reference to African Shango religious practices will probably not be repeated, as Shango is not as widespread

and the language not as familiar as before. Moreover, people are generally reluctant to use religious terminology or subjects in calypso.⁶

Valentino's 1979 "Stay Up, Zimbabwe," included names of several African tribes; Sparrow's 1969 "Bongo," about a traditional African wake-dance, uses African rhythms and subject but not vocabulary, aside from the dance name. However, Sparrow does use "Yoruba" (or Yoruba-sounding language) in two contemporary songs: his "Du Du Yemi" of 1978, in which he meets a woman from Nigeria, and "Gu Nu Gu" of 1980, about an African "witch doctor" healing a young girl. Both uses are quotational, the latter with a hint of titillation. Despite the very aggressive Afro-Creole "roots" movement and interest in African cultures, very little linguistic African influence can be seen in the current calypsos.

Chinese. The Chinese have constituted a small but significant group in Trinidad since the mid-19th century. Originally indentured laborers, they quickly moved into commercial enterprises, hence the stereotype of "Shopkeeper Chin." There are relatively few words of Chinese origin in TEC, and these mostly relate to food and gambling; October 10th, the date of the founding of the Republic of China, is widely observed by "Double Ten" sales.

Atilla (1983: 85) cited Kitch's 1946 "Double Ten" as a calypso which "ingeniously incorporated Chinese rhythms." Kitch's late 1940's "Chinee Never Had a V-J Day" includes lines which are presumably Chinese or an imitation of it. Similarly, Sparrow, in his 1970's "Chinese Love Affair," imitates a "Vietnamese" woman he met, and says that he "couldn't speak the Chinese language." In fact, the Chinese parts of the lyrics to this song are in no consistent form of Chinese, although they are susceptible to a plausible interpretation. One chorus appears to be:

Hsiang ai, you ni hsiang ai	Love each other, if we love each
I'll be contented. . .	other
Wou sin-shang-ren ey.	Oh, my sweetheart

Sparrow's rendition seems to be a "learner's version" of the Chinese:

Shiang oi, you ni shiang oi...
Wou shing-shang-ping-ey.

His substitution of /sh/ for the highly aspirated Chinese /s^h/ is a reasonable approximation; it is possible that /ai/ became /oi/ under the influence of the popular Trinidadian cry "oi!" often used as a lyrical

"filler." This use of a foreign language in a quotational context, to impress and perhaps titillate, is typical of Sparrow and not likely to spread.

More typical is making fun of Chinese names or words, as in Dictator's [?] 1950's [?] "Chinese Cricket Match":

They say the Indian people name funny
 Nothing to beat the Chineese
 As though the Chineese does get they name
 By the beating of the steelband in Port-of-Spain
 For is Ling Ting bowled and caught by Lum Pang
 And Ring Ting got clean bowl by Pung Pang
 And the whole Oval shout when Lum Lung
 Get Wang Pung Tin Pang Pung out.

In the "Best Village" cultural competitions, Chinese culture is infrequently portrayed and is often laughed at by the audience. The Chinese Trinidadian calypsonian Rex West is an institutionalized laughing-stock who sings poor songs badly. Given this attitude and the limited influence of Chinese culture in Trinidad, the future of the Chinese language in calypsos is dim; it would probably occur only in domain reference.

Other Languages. Novelty language may occur in calypsos such as the "German" in the wartime "Sauerkraut Calypso," but the individual calypsonian's knowledge of and interest in language(s) is more important. Tiger, for example, grew up speaking English, EC, FC and Spanish and is clearly sensitive to language and variation. His successor in this respect is Sparrow, who shows his love of mimicry of individual voice quality in many songs: Nat King Cole, Tony Bennett and Mario Lanza in "Pump"; a "respectable" mother-in-law in "Harry"; a sweet-talking woman in his version of "Big Bamboo"; Dr. Eric Williams in "Get to Hell Out." Sparrow apparently learned FC in his late teens from Martiniquan friends, but is reasonably fluent in it, although he may have had help in composing lyrics. The popularity of his songs in the FC islands no doubt has reinforced his use of the language. His use of other languages is more sporadic and does not reflect a competent working knowledge. In "Dutch Romance," Sparrow mispronounces many of the words, particularly sounds which do not occur in English or EC, and uses non-idiomatic grammar and vocabulary in places. Such usage is designed to impress or amuse his audience; it is highly unlikely that the usage of such language – or even the idea – would become more widespread; further examples seem dependent on Sparrow's international romances.

CONCLUSION

From rhetorical style to grammar and word choice, the language of calypso reflects its social and cultural milieu. It has changed in response to changes in its society, the disappearance and emergence of new artefacts, events and social systems. It is too early to judge whether Special Correspondent's observation in the April 1984 *Caribbean Contact* (p. 15) is overly hasty:

after ten years of affluence, calypso finds itself without an enemy... it has lost its taste for criticism and satire... society demands of calypso a new role - jumping, party tunes in which words are unimportant but slick soca tempo and styling are paramount. The traditional calypsonian, with his verbal message, is slipping into the past like the traditional masquerades, and calypso is changing fast into something new - something urgently commercial which, not too long ago, calypsonians would have regarded as a good target for scorn.

As long as there are calypsonians with something to say, the lyrics will remain important, and as long as the words are important, they will move with the society and the people who speak, shape and sing them.

NOTES

1. I am greatly indebted to Don Hill for providing calypso recordings and notes. For help with transcriptions, dates, lexical definitions and identification of personae and events, special thanks to Mervyn Alleyne, George Archer, Lawrence Carrington, Adolphe Parillon, Ian Robertson, Gordon Rohlehr, Jesús Vázquez Abad and Keith Warner. Any errors or omissions are the author's responsibility.
2. The jury is still out on whether to use "calypso" or "kaiso" to describe the songs, but the former is used more frequently.
3. According to Rohlehr (1985, pc), Poser originally intended to sing "Ah tell she, find a party, Smoke a tampi" [marijuana]. Warned that this might not be recorded due to marijuana's illegality, he changed it to "Find a party, Socawattie," parallel to common Indian names like "Liliwattie," i.e., an Indian country girl who is trying to dance soca. Some people sing along "smoke a wattie" [what the author hears on the actual recording] or even "smoke a tampi" but some sing "Socawattie."
4. This discussion does not include the subject of *picong*, a verbal style of more direct, ritualized, personal insult, with fewer linguistic flourishes, such as Sparrow's "Picong" (Cook 1985); this form, particularly in spontaneous and improvisational format, is also languishing in calypso.

5. The needs of meter and rhyme must be taken into account, as well as phonological context. For example, "he[z]sick" was not counted as having or not having *be*, and "she walk[t] to" was not counted as either marked or unmarked for tense. Group choruses were eliminated from consideration, but individual singer repetitions, not always identical, were all considered.

6. Religious subjects, with the exception of the indigenous African-origin "magic" system of "obeah," are infrequent in both classical and modern calypsos in the corpus. In "Three Friends' Advice," Executor tries out Shango, an African religion kin to Haitian Voodoo, obeah, and Spiritual (Shouter) Baptist. Songs referring to obeah practices are not uncommon, from Growler's 1939 "I Don't Want no more Callaloo" to Sparrow's 1979 "Obeahman." Obeah practices are less widespread now than in the past, but are still quite generally familiar. A few calypsos have taken a side-swipe at preachers, e.g., Melody's "Jonah and the Bake." Rastafarianism is discussed in the text; it has received both critical and supportive attention in calypsos since c. 1978.

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THE BLACK DIASPORA IN COSTA RICA: UPWARD MOBILITY AND ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION

The history of the negro as a labourer is ancient and simple – perhaps more so than that of any other race or people... With few notable exceptions, the negro labourer has little initiative – he is an imitator... experience has proved over and over again that only with rare exceptions has the negro been able to pursue theoretical studies with any degree of success. [Letter from the manager of United Fruit Company operations in Central America to the British Consul, June 11, 1919.]

...For forty long years we Costa Ricans were displaced from the best jobs of the Atlantic Zone by Negroes. They were warehouse supervisors, chiefs of commissaries, clerks and formans [sic]. ...They think that they are superior to us... They look down upon our language... [Petition by Hispanic banana workers to the Costa Rican National Assembly, 1941.]

Blacks of West Indian descent constitute Costa Rica's largest ethnic minority; they reside, for the most part on the Atlantic coast in Limón province where they comprise less than 25 percent of the total population. In contrast to the Black diaspora in most other parts of the world, Costa Rican Blacks have risen economically relative to the dominant local population. They arrived in the late nineteenth century as landless laborers fleeing poverty and economic crisis on their natal islands in the West Indies. Almost all of them were employed by the United Fruit Company in railroad construction and banana cultivation. By the 1930s most had obtained small plots of land and/or had risen in the banana company's labor hierarchy, replaced by Hispanic and Amerindian immigrants. Today Blacks are better off economically than the bulk of the Hispanic and Amerindian population of Limón province; nevertheless ethnic discrimination against them persists. An analysis of the history of their upward mobility can provide an insight into how

political values and ideology are formed in the context of changing class relations. It also affords a privileged perspective on the crucial importance of ethnic discrimination in shaping a people's political and economic development.¹

THE ARRIVAL OF THE WEST INDIANS

Although there was a small population of African slaves in Costa Rica during the colonial period, these early Blacks intermixed with the European and Amerindian inhabitants and no longer constitute an identifiable ethnic group. Black culture in Costa Rica today, therefore, is the product of the massive immigration of West Indians laborers in the second half of the nineteenth century through the 1930s.² The economic depression of the Antilles combined with the constant booms and busts of the local subsidiaries of the North American corporations active in the region, spread the Black diaspora throughout the Caribbean and coastal Central America as West Indian migrant workers were obliged repeatedly to uproot themselves from company to company and country to country in search of stable employment (cf. Davis 1980; McCullough 1977; Newton 1984; Palmer 1977). Consequently, Blacks in Costa Rica form part of a larger cultural formation spanning the entire Central American Caribbean which arose out of the economic enclaves established by North American transnational corporations beginning in the 1860s. Often the same individual who planted bananas or harvested cacao in Limon had previously shovelled dirt on the Panama Canal, or cut sugar cane in Cuba, and ultimately emigrated to New York city to work as an orderly in a hospital.

The first group of West Indian immigrant workers reached Costa Rica in 1872 (Duncan and Melendez 1981: 70-73). They were contracted by the railroad financier, Minor C. Keith, who was later to become one of the founders of the United Fruit Company. Keith had previously unsuccessfully imported dozens of different population groups to work on the construction of the Costa Rican trans-Atlantic railroad.³ Of all the immigrant peoples, however, only the West Indian Blacks came to tolerate the rigid labor discipline and to suffer exposure to the yellow fever, malaria and poisonous snakes which abounded in the swampy lowlands of Limón. It is reported that 4,000 Jamaicans died in the construction of the first 25 miles of the Costa Rican railroad.⁴

Although Keith imported 10,000 Jamaicans between 1881 and 1891 most of the subsequent waves of West Indian immigrants arrived on

their own without sponsorship, fleeing unemployment and poverty (Rodriguez and Borge 1976: 229).⁵ By 1927 there were 19,136 Jamaicans in Costa Rica, almost all in Limón province (Olien 1967: 126).

WEST INDIAN RESISTANCE

Most historians report that the immigrant West Indian laborers in Costa Rica at the turn of the century were fiercely loyal to their employer – Minor Keith and the United Fruit Company – and that Blacks refrained from organizing unions or provoking labor disturbances (cf. Casey 1979: 119, 125; Fallas Monge 1983: 218; Duncan & Melendez 1981: 77–78, 104).⁶

Even the publications of the Costa Rican communist party and the militant tendency within the labor union movement fail to note the participation of West Indian immigrants in the early years of the labor movement. Blacks in Costa Rica have a reputation among the general population of having always avoided labor confrontations historically. In fact, Black passivity has emerged as a racist stereotype among Hispanics in Limón,

Blacks are conformist; they'll work for peanuts [*trabajan por cualquier cochinada*]. They've always been docile [*han sido mancos todo la vida*]. They're pussies by nature... They bend with the breeze [*Son pendejos; bailen el son que le tocan*].

Nevertheless, a closer scrutiny of the available primary sources, as well as interviews with elderly West Indian laborers from the period, refute this myth that Black laborers in Costa Rica were passive. Newspaper reports and historical archives from the turn of the century⁷ abound with reference to violent strikes, labor disturbances, and attempts at union organizing (see Bourgois 1985a: 116–123; De la Cruz 1979). In fact reports of violent confrontations between Black workers and management date as far back as 1879 (Fallas Monge 1983: 218 citing *Gaceta Oficial*, March 1879).

Resistance by West Indian immigrants to economic exploitation and ethnic discrimination on the United Fruit Company banana plantations climaxed in the 1910s and 1920s. Their strikes were almost invariably repressed violently and usually resulted in serious casualties. Much of this resistance was channelled through Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association [hereafter UNIA], a world wide organization which stressed the dignity of Blacks throughout the

diaspora. Significantly, the UNIA was exceptionally strong in Costa Rica on the banana plantations. In fact, Limón is one of the few places in the world today where the UNIA formally continues to exist. The banana workers used the UNIA to organize against the racist labor hierarchy of the United Fruit Company. The organization's message was invoked in several major strikes (Kepner 1936: 180.)⁸

UPWARD MOBILITY

The availability of unoccupied land surrounding the banana plantations provided the West Indian immigrants with an alternative to plantation wage work. During the 1910s and the 1920s increasing numbers left day labour employment and established themselves as small banana and cacao farmers. This further incited those who remained on the United Fruit Company plantations to demand higher wages and better working conditions. In short, through land acquisition, Black immigrants had begun a process of upward class mobility; they were no longer prepared to submit to the same levels of exploitation.⁹

Emigration out of Costa Rica in the long run also played a key role in accentuating the upwardly mobile class composition of Blacks in Limón. Historically during periods of economic crisis the poorest, working class cohort of the West Indian labor force was forced to leave the region in search of employment elsewhere. From 1927 to 1950, according to national census tabulations, the Black population fell from 18,003 to 13,749 (Casey 1979: 239). A series of racist immigration and employment laws systematically propelled the working class sectors of the Black population out of the country during periods of economic crisis and prevented their re-entry during economic booms (Koch 1975: 378, 385). For example, in 1934 a law was passed forbidding the employment of Blacks outside of the Atlantic lowlands. With the dramatic reduction in employment offered by the United Fruit Company in Limón, thousands of Blacks who depended upon wage work for their survival were forced to leave the country; they were not allowed to migrate to the Pacific coast of the country where new farms were being opened up and where experienced banana workers were in high demand. The Blacks who remained behind on the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica were forced to convert themselves into full-time farmers. At first they squatted on uncultivated lands and eked out a subsistence survival in abject poverty. During subsequent economic booms, however, they

were able to convert their subsistence plots into cash earning enterprises (cacao or banana farms). At the same time, during these booms working class Blacks seeking employment were prevented from entering the country by the Costa Rican immigration authorities.

In this manner, the bulk of the Black population remaining in Costa Rica left plantation employment to become small farmers. Ironically, therefore, the laws restricting Blacks to the Atlantic Coast of Costa Rica ultimately provided those who withstood the economic crises of the 1930s and early 1940s with a first choice selection of the most fertile lands closest to the transport infrastructure. With the rise in cacao prices on the world market in the mid-1950s the formerly struggling small Black farmer/squatters became comfortable landowners. By the 1960s, they constituted what anthropologist Charles Koch (1975: 378, 385) described as a "...rump of well-to-do peasants and old people concentrated in the best cacao districts." An increasingly large population of landless Hispanic migrants – some of whom had originally migrated out of the Atlantic region in 1934 to work on the new farms being planted on the Pacific coast – provided the Black farmers with a plentiful supply of inexpensive agricultural day labor. An ethnic occupational hierarchy emerged contrasting markedly with the pattern prevalent in the rest of the world: "... the Atlantic Zone [is] one of the few places in the world where bourgeois Blacks exploit an underprivileged white minority (Koch 1975: 378)."

Anthropologists who conducted fieldwork in Limón from the 1950s through the 1980s (cf. Bryce-Laporte 1962; Koch 1975; Mennerick 1964; Moock 1972; Murillo & Hernandez 1981; Olien 1967, 1977; Purcell 1982), all report that Blacks shunned agricultural wage labor and tended to own the superior, flat alluvial lands devoted to cacao:

The category of Black peon is almost an empty one... It is only in extremely rare cases that one finds a Black rural dweller who does not have access to some land, whether his own bought land or land inherited from a close kin. Most unskilled agricultural jobs are filled by Hispanics (Purcell 1982: 145).

In fact, one fieldworker in a small village in Limón in 1968 reported: "The only three negroes who did work as peons were considered mentally defective and were treated as isolates by the entire community (Moock 1972: 9)."

Nevertheless, although for the most part comfortable economically, Blacks have not emerged as the upper crust of the elite in Limón. Even at the height of their involvement in the cacao industry in the 1960s,

Black farms were not large-scale, efficiently administered agro-industrial complexes oriented towards accumulating capital. The largest landholdings and the more profitable rural enterprises have always been owned by absentee landlords, often North Americans or San Jose based Hispanics. Black farmers, therefore, represent a middle level rural elite operating small or medium-sized farms.

Ironically, upward class mobility has contributed ultimately to the demise of Black farms as the new generation of educated Blacks (the children of the successful cacao farmers of the 1960s) have for the most part shunned the agricultural way of life.¹⁰ Cacao farming is not considered a satisfactory lifestyle to college and high school graduates, no matter how successful it may appear by local rural standards. Since the mid-1970s, therefore, young Blacks have been leaving their parents' farms and going to Port Limón, San José, Panama City, or even New York City in search of better opportunities for economic advancement and more exciting urban lifestyles. Indeed the reason one sees so few Blacks performing heavy agricultural labor in Limón today is that most Blacks in their prime age for heavy manual labor have emigrated from the countryside.

Significantly, the elderly cacao farmers themselves encourage their children to leave the agricultural sector. Black parents, even those of the humblest class backgrounds, infuse their children with upwardly mobile aspirations. The emphasis is not only on getting out of wage work, but also out of agriculture *per se* and into the big cities (cf. Purcell 1982: 122; Moock 1972: 26). Farming is associated with low status. "It is considered ungentlemanly to chop bush" even on one's own farm. Younger Blacks who still reside in the countryside usually hire Hispanics to work in their cacao groves while they attend to more profitable commercial alternatives such as lobster fishing, administering restaurants, selling marihuana to tourists, working for the government, or living off remittances from kin in the United States.

The flight of young Blacks from the rural sector has led to the decay of Black-owned cacao orchards; consequently by the early 1980s, Black-owned cacao farms on the average were older, smaller, received fewer inputs, and were more diversified than Hispanic-owned holdings (Murillo and Hernandez 1981: 151). Black farmers tended to be elderly and physically on the decline. Over the past decade the pattern has been for Black rural dwellers to sell their holdings to Hispanic immigrants and either to emigrate or to "die out" (Duncan & Melendez 1981: 244-245). This process has been accelerated by a devastating leaf fungus known as moniliasis which has been destroying approximately

two-thirds of the harvest since late 1978 (Murillo & Hernandez 1981: 75). In fact, some of the Black cacao farmers who have been unable to emigrate have actually been forced back into agricultural wage work. Nevertheless Blacks in rural Limón continue to enjoy an above average economic status, superior to that of most Hispanics.

In Puerto Limón, the capital of Limón Province there are high levels of unemployment (23 percent in 1981) and there is a significant sector of working class and unemployed Blacks. Nevertheless, urban Blacks continue to occupy a slightly higher socio-economic niche than the average Hispanic; they shun the low prestige jobs. According to a 1980 survey 30.5 percent of Black workers had white collar jobs in Port Limón compared to 21.1 percent of Hispanics (Vargas & Requeyra 1983: 43, 113). For example, the street sweepers, the construction workers, and the shoe shine men are almost invariably Hispanics rather than Blacks. Blacks have been able to manipulate to their advantage a local patron-client brokerage system which affords them access to preferential employment, especially in the public sector. When one enters a government office in Limón, the orderly sweeping the floor and emptying the garbage will almost always be a dark complexioned Hispanic; the xerox clerk (an especially 'soft' task) will usually be a young Black; while the secretarial and middle-level desk positions will be occupied by both Blacks and Hispanics; and the top level administrator will, of course, almost invariably be a light skinned Hispanic from San Jose.

Those Blacks who have remained on the banana plantations – especially on the farms in southern Limón spanning the border with Panama – represent a miniature labor aristocracy.¹¹ They generally work in semi-skilled jobs, as low level supervisors, or in the 'softer' unskilled tasks. On the United Fruit Company farms, Hispanics have nicknamed Blacks "*la rosca*" [the groove of the screw] because they are so "tight with management." This is clearly visible in the overrepresentation of Blacks as mechanics, clerks, watchmen, paymasters. They are most heavily concentrated in the departments which do not require heavy manual labor such as Electricity, Transport, Engineering, or Materials and Supplies.

The largest single concentration of Black menial laborers in the plantation production hierarchy is on the docks. Significantly, however, dockworkers are better paid than farmworkers and lead more cosmopolitan lifestyles as they are located in the urban centers in the ports. Furthermore, a close examination of the distribution of jobs among dockworkers reveals that, once again, the "softer" jobs are

dominated by Blacks, especially elderly Blacks. This is true, for example of the task of "curving" [*curvear*] which involves standing at a curve point along the loading machine to make sure that no boxes of bananas fall as they are advanced on the rollers. Similarly the worker who sits next to the power switch in order to shut off the electricity in case of an emergency, is usually Black.

Access to alternative sources of income is at the root of Black underrepresentation in the menial tasks in the banana industry today. Blacks do not shun agricultural wage work any more than do those Hispanics or Amerindians who were also born in the plantation vicinity and who also own land and/or have access to better jobs through seniority and contacts. The bulk of the banana worker labor force is composed of immigrants from other provinces or countries (see Figure 3). Native born Limonenses avoid plantation wage work; they tend to have access to land. The only difference between Blacks and Limón-born Hispanics or Amerindians is that Blacks express their distaste for plantation wage work more vocally. They justify their rejection of agricultural day labor in specifically ethnic terms: "I'm nobody's slave anymore. Let the Spaniards do that class of work. It's their turn now." Blacks also explain that they avoid unskilled plantation work because of the racism they are subjected to by Hispanic foremen.

IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF UPWARD MOBILITY

Land acquisition, upward mobility and the emigration of most of the poorer, wage earning Blacks (in the 1930s and early 1940s) have contributed to the development of a conservative political ideology among Blacks. There is an emphasis on "proper behaviour" and a "respect for authority" in Black culture. The pro-North American, pro-management orientation of second and third generation West Indian immigrants contrasts dramatically with the labor militancy of their grandparents and great grandparents. Indeed, a political generation gap is clearly visible in Limon today. While elderly Black immigrants who arrived at the turn of the century enjoy reminiscing about strikes and labor union struggles, younger Blacks insist that "First time [in the old days] our people never know nothing about no *sindicatos* [unions], no no no." They prefer to forget that their ancestors were severely exploited landless laborers who had to fight for their rights.

Even the poorest Black families aspire to middle class respectability. The small minority of Blacks who are still objectively at the lower end

of the local occupational hierarchy, (performing machete work in the fields) identify with the conservative political attitudes and values of the more privileged members of their ethnic group – the cacao farmers and skilled workers. Participation in unions and antagonism towards management, are viewed as alien to Black ethnic identity. Strikes and – worse yet – “communist ideas” are abhorred as satanic values introduced by immigrant “Spaniard” day laborers of a “lower cultural level”: “Strikes come when two people can’t reason and Spaniards can’t reason.”

This conservative political/ideological orientation has been further encouraged by the racism of Costa Rican society. Until 1949, even the second and third generation West Indian descendants were denied Costa Rican citizenship. During the 1930s, the threat of deportation made Costa Rican-born Blacks increasingly reluctant during the Great Depression to participate in the labor movement. Their ambiguous nationality status became a Damocles sword that the United Fruit Company invoked during labor disturbances.¹² This vulnerability, combined with age-old ethnic antagonisms prevented Black workers from joining the Hispanic dominated national labor union organizations. In fact, over the years, the United Fruit company systematized an ethnically based “divide and conquer” strategy pitting Blacks against Hispanics against Amerindians (see Bourgois 1985b).¹³ Frequently the strikes and union organizing drives of the original West Indian immigrants at the turn of the century were broken by the importation of Hispanic laborers.

The discrimination of the local population and the national authorities reduced the ability of Black workers to maintain antagonistic attitudes towards their employers. Costa Rican hostility towards Blacks increased dramatically, for example, during periods of economic crisis such as the Great Depression and World War II. On numerous occasions Blacks were forced to appeal to the United Fruit Company for protection from racist national authorities. This constant dependence on the “goodwill” of their North American employers and supervisors spawned a transformation in Black attitudes towards management. This was exacerbated by the legal prohibition against employing Blacks outside of the Atlantic zone in the 1930s and 1940s which augmented their dependence on the North American plantation enclave. Even those who successfully established themselves as small farmers remained largely dependent upon the United Fruit Company for their economic well-being since the Company purchased their produce. They generally did not even have legal title to their land; it was usually formally owned by the banana company.

The upward mobility of the Black population within the United Fruit Company dominated economy, consequently, has always been relatively precarious. Blacks had to remain on good terms with the transnational in order to stay in business. Those who remained directly in the employ of the Company in the "soft" privileged positions lived with the constant fear that they might be demoted at any moment should their loyalty to management be suspect. In order to maintain their position within the hierarchy of the plantation, therefore, Blacks had to emphasize their "reliability and obedience." They heightened the contrast in "culture" between them and the unruly, politically volatile "communistic" Hispanic immigrants. Today, the reputation of Blacks for apolitical passivity is their best recommendation for continued access to preferential employment.

Another important ideological influence on Blacks in Limón has been the emigration of so many of their relatives to the United States. Most Costa Rican Blacks regularly receive letters and/or visits from kin now living in New York, California, or Miami. The dramatic wage differentials between Central America and the United States make life in the North appear almost utopian from a dollars and cents perspective. Photographs and descriptions of North American technology and of large urban centers, accentuate the impression of United States omnipotence. The United States is looked upon as the land of golden opportunity, as a potential savior, a *deus ex machina*. It is not uncommon to hear middle-aged Blacks wish that "the marines would invade Costa Rica."

RACISM

There are two contradictory matrices of ethnic discrimination in Limón. On the one hand Blacks consider themselves more cultured than Hispanics. On the other hand Hispanics are convinced of their racial superiority over Blacks. Black landowners employing Hispanic migrant laborers adhere to the same racist constructs typical of landowners anywhere in the world who employ landless day laborers of a different ethnic group. Blacks often claim that "Whites"¹⁴ are treacherous, lazy, shiftless drunkards" with "nomadic tendencies". Whites are even reputed to "smell bad" and have "cooties" [*piojos*] in their hair. It is not unusual to hear Black farmers explain in patronizing tones how they have to be careful never to pay their White workers on Saturday evening lest they spend all their money on liquor before Sunday morning.

Even Blacks who work side by side with Hispanics as day laborers, "...in very explicit terms, regarded themselves as superior to Hispanics..." (Purcell 1982: 76). Black day laborers on banana plantations refer to their fellow Hispanic workers as "less civilized." They criticize them for being loud, violent, alcoholic, and abusive to their women. In a somewhat more poetic vein, anthropologist Trevor Purcell (1982: 79), quotes the racist description provided by a Black woman of her impression of Hispanic immigrant workers:

Dey looks to me laik dey were barbarians. laik dey wud kil an' iit piiple, datz di wey dey looks. Deze piiple wur illiterate an ignorant an wii wuz ahlweys afreid av dem. If yu goin along de striit an yu si dem yu waak on di odder sa'id. Dey always kiari dier kutlas wid dem.

Nevertheless, the hegemony of white supremacist thought is so powerful that the superior economic position of Blacks in the local class hierarchy has not overshadowed the racism lighter skinned peoples direct against them.¹⁵ Even impoverished landless Hispanics who have worked all their lives for Black landlords, continue to maintain the conviction that Blacks are inferior racially. For example, the flip side to the assertion by Blacks that Hispanics are "dangerous, violent, alcoholic savages" is that Blacks are "cowards who run at the sight of blood." The fact that Blacks do not perform menial agricultural wage labour, is cited by Hispanics (and Amerindians) as proof that they are "lazy, ambitionless" and "afraid to sweat." Hence the Costa Rican adage, "Where there is work there are no Blacks."

Ironically, one of the effects of the persistence of ethnic discrimination against Blacks despite their upward class mobility, is the preservation of Black culture. The obvious phenotypical differentiation of the West Indian immigrants from the rest of the Costa Rican population has prevented the second and third generations of Blacks from blending into Costa Rican society as they have risen in the local class structure. Under similar circumstances of dramatic upward class mobility, other immigrant ethnic groups would have assimilated. Although professional Blacks in Costa Rica tend to marry Hispanics and often forbid their children to speak Creole English, the racism of the host society limits the rapidity of their acculturation. Were it not for this phenotypically-based discrimination, Blacks would probably no longer exist as a distinct ethnic group in Costa Rica.

NOTES

1. The information for this article was collected during one and one half years of fieldwork on the Atlantic Coast of Costa Rica and north western Panama from 1982-1983. The fieldwork was made possible by a Dissertation Research Grant from the Inter-American Foundation and by preliminary fieldwork funding from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.
2. A veritable depopulation of able bodied laborers occurred in the West Indies at the turn of the century. For example, from 1900 to 1910, 40 percent of all adult males left Barbados in search of employment in Central America and Panama (McCullough 1977: 476).
3. In addition to small "experimental" numbers of Canadians, Dutch, Swedes, Black North Americans, Carib Afro-Amerindians, Syrians, Turks, East Indians, Egyptians, and Cape Verdians (Wilson 1947: 52, 61; Rodriguez & Borge 1976: 227) Minor Keith imported "one thousand healthy, robust Chinese of good customs and addicted to work (Costa Rican National Archives, Historical Section #1055: April 6, 1872)," and 1,500 "...good, humble thrifty...[Italians]... of a superior race..." (Ibid. #1131, Feb. 23, 1888: 3)."
4. Three of Minor Keith's brothers and uncles also died while supervising the construction of the first 25 miles of the Costa Rican Trans-Atlantic railroad (Wilson 1947: 52, 59).
5. In Barbados, a day's wage was 20 cents at the turn of the century, whereas the United Fruit Company labor contractors were offering to pay the same amount per hour. The unemployed were so desperate that riots erupted outside the recruiting stations of the Panama Canal Company in Barbados (McCullough 1977: 170).
6. There are a few passing references to the militancy of West Indian laborers in Costa Rica cf. Bryce-Laporte (n.d.: 23); de la Cruz (1983: 94, 105-121); Duncan & Melendez (1981: 78); Fallas Monge (1983: 218-219); Kepner (1936: 180-181). A more detailed analysis of this issue is provided by Bourgois (1985a: 113-123) and de la Cruz (1979).
7. The newspaper archive of the National Library of Costa Rica has a valuable collection of turn of the century publications from Limón. The United Fruit Company historical archives in storage in Bocas del Toro, Panama are also an extraordinary resource; special permission to consult them must be obtained locally. One of the reasons so many historians and anthropologists have erroneously reported that Costa Rican West Indians were passive laborers is that they relied on company reports and pro-management local newspapers which purposefully emphasized the passivity of the Black laborers in order to persuade the Costa Rican government to allow them to import larger numbers into the country. Furthermore, the comfortably established second and third generation descendants of these immigrants prefer to forget their grandparents' history of exploitation and struggle.
8. The leadership of the UNIA subsequently shunted the interests of the banana workers. United Fruit Company historical archives reveal that Marcus Garvey and his associates actually struck deals with management:

...[Garvey] states that he too is an employer of labor, understands our position, is using his best endeavour to get the negro race to work and better themselves through work (UFA: Chittenden to Blair, April n.a., 1921).

...Garvey was the most conservative man of any attending the meetings. He told them they should not fight the United Fruit Company... they must have money and that in order to get money they had to work (UFA: Chittenden to Cutter, April 22, 1921).

Garvey's policy seems to be to keep his people industriously at work and I have told a representative here that we would aid them in any way that we could as long as this policy is maintained (UFA: Chittenden to Blair, February 27, 1922).

9. The most systematic and well documented analysis of Black upward mobility in Limón is provided by Charles KOch (1975); see also Bourgois (1985a: chapter 6).

10. Education has played a crucial role in Black upward mobility, and is part of the West Indian immigrant tradition. Today Blacks still maintain scholastic superiority over Hispanics. In 1983, while 55.4 percent of Hispanics did not finish primary school in Limón, the same was true for only 38.5 percent of Blacks (Vargas & Requeyra 1983: 44). Once again, this advantage over Hispanics has been confined for the most part to the middle level echelons of the hierarchy i.e., primary school and high school rather than college. Until the 1960s few Blacks reached the university level. In 1964, for example, out of the entire Limón Black population (over 10,000) there were only four Black lawyers, one civil engineer and five professors (Mennerick 1964: 50). By the 1970s, with the extended boom in the cacao economy, the children of successful cacao farmers have entered the professional occupations in disproportionate numbers; today, there are so many Black professionals dispersed throughout Costa Rica, that it would be impossible to calculate their number.

11. On the banana plantations in central Limón and on the Pacific coast there are very few Blacks of West Indian descent working in banana production. There are, however, significant numbers of workers of Afro-Hispanic descent, but they are immigrants from the northwestern province of Guanacaste. Their African descent can be traced to the slaves imported during the colonial period. They are considered Hispanic or even "white" according to Costa Rican definitions of race and ethnicity. A middle class Black of Jamaican ancestry warned me "You may think you see Blacks working in the banana fields but don't put that in your book. They're not black Blacks; they are Guanacastecans."

12. United Fruit Company management took full advantage of the ambiguous nationality status of Blacks as is documented by the following report by an official sent to evaluate a plantation on the Panama / Costa Rica border during World War II:

...the Division has not been living up to the laws as regards accident pay, severance pay, and other social privileges to which laborers are entitled by law. Apparently these payments were not made... mostly on the assumption that the Company wished to save money and *was safe in not making these payments, as most of the negroes around [here] do not have cédulas [nationality identity cards] and cannot bring action against us in the courts* (UFA: Hamer to Pollan, Feb. 1, 1943, emphasis added).

13. The most spectacular example in Costa Rica of a foreign company manipulating Black/Hispanic antagonisms within its labor force is the case of the Abangares gold

mines (in which Minor Keith the founder of the United Fruit Company also had financial interests) in the province of Guanacaste (Garcia 1984: 17). In 1911 Black West Indians were brought in as foremen to supervise the largely Hispanic work force; in fact all 50 foremen at the mines were Black and Black ditch diggers were paid more than Hispanics (Ibid 1984: 57-62). One of the tasks of the foremen was to strip search workers suspected of stealing gold from the mines at the end of the day as they were leaving the pits. In 1911 this provoked a race riot. Fourteen Blacks were brutally killed by a mob of incensed workers (Ibid: 57-62, Sanchez 1971: 107-108). Although the mines were occupied by the workers and a strike was declared, their anger was vented against their immediate supervisors who were Blacks rather than against the North American owners of the mines. No workers were prosecuted for the massacre and the President of Costa Rica even publicly blamed the "foreigners" (i.e., West Indian Blacks) for having provoked the workers into killing them.

14. In Costa Rica, Hispanics are referred to as "Whites." In fact this deeply ingrained national myth that Costa Ricans are White is referred to in the scholarly literature as the "white legend" (cf. Edelman 1982: unnumbered citing Creedman 1977: x).

15. For an analysis of racism against Blacks in South America see Wade 1985.

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UFA: United Fruit Company Archives, Bocas del Toro, Panama.

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CHITTENDEN, G.P.: Manager, Limon Division, subsequently responsible for all southern Central American operations and then vice-president of the Chiriqui Land Company, Boston; 1916-1940s.

CUTTER, VICTOR: General Manager, UFCO, Central and South American Department, subsequently vice-president, UFCO, Boston; 1915-1920s.

HAMER, R.H.: Manager of Pacific Coast Divisions, UFCO, Costa Rica (*Compania Bananera de Costa Rica*) and subsequently responsible for Southern Central Operations; 1940s and 1950s.

POLLAN, A.A.: Executive vice-president, UFCO, Boston; 1943.

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BAHAMIAN LABOR MIGRATION, 1901-1963

INTRODUCTION

Migration in search of economic opportunity, along with small size, dependency, poverty, and the plantation legacy, has come to be recognized as a fundamental Caribbean reality (Segal 1985: 135). Indeed, the propensity to migrate is seen not only as an individual coping response to the chronic lack of opportunities at home, but also as a societal stabilizer since migration serves as a "safety valve" and provides for the infusion of much needed capital through remittances (Marshall 1982b: 465). The recent proliferation of Caribbean migration studies attests to this growing recognition (Stinner, de Albuquerque and Bryce-Laporte 1982; Brana-Shute 1983; Richardson 1983; Rubenstein 1983).

For all this effort, however, there is not a single published account of Bahamian labor migration (Collinwood 1981: 285).¹ Undoubtedly, much of this neglect is rooted in the persistent disinterest of West Indian scholars in the region's Northern perimeter, whether by reason of geographic separation, cultural exclusion (Americanization), assumed historical differences, or Bahamian self-ostracism from the Caribbean Commonwealth community (Lewis 1968: 308ff). This omission is unfortunate because the Bahamas migration experience is rich in Caribbean commonalities – rural depopulation, recurrent migration and return, obligatory remittances, contractual recruitment of labor – yet manifestly distinct to warrant a special chapter. Most notably, since the tourist and international finance boom of the 1960's the Bahamas have become a net importer of labor (Marshall 1982a: 9) and immigration, not emigration, has surfaced as the country's most pressing

socio-economic issue largely under the guise of "Bahamianization" (Segal 1975: 107).

THE SETTING

The Bahama Islands form an archipelago that stretches some 760 miles, from the coast of Florida to near Cape Nicholas in Haiti.² The 29 islands and several hundred rocks and cays are scattered over 100,000 square miles of sea, and have a total land area of 5,400 square miles. Twenty-two of the 29 islands are inhabited, the largest being Andros (2,300 square miles) and the smallest Spanish Wells (.5 square miles). The islands are usually long, narrow and flat and composed mainly of calcareous sand, low ridges and lagoons and swamps.³ They have been ravaged periodically by hurricanes and because they are low-lying, damage to crops and settlements has been generally severe. Soils are thin and poor, and with the exception of parts of Eleuthera, Andros and Abaco, are incapable of supporting intense agriculture. Rainfall is often sparse, ranging from 25 inches a year in the Southern Bahama Islands to about 60 inches a year in the Northern Bahama Islands.

In the contemporary Caribbean, the Bahamas enjoy a level of affluence second only to Bermuda and other British dependent territories, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico. The territory is destination for two million annual tourists who contribute nearly US \$3,000 in per capita income to each of the estimated (1980) inhabitants (Collinwood 1983: 500). Generous tax concessions and banking secrecy laws have made the islands the third largest off-shore international finance center (Ireland 1979: 55). In addition to a large petroleum refining and transshipment terminal on Grand Bahama, the Bahamas boasts the third largest "open registry" fleet in the world (Europa 1985: 1173). Between 1977 and 1983 total government expenditures increased markedly from \$US 163 million to \$US 383 million.⁴

The labor imperatives of this dramatic postwar expansion have transformed the Bahamas into a receiving society for expatriate (British, U.S. and Canadian) professionals and entrepreneurs and West Indian (primarily Haitian) construction and service workers. This pattern closely parallels the demographic reversal in the U.S. Virgin Islands intensified by the post-Castro 1960's tourism and construction boom (De Albuquerque & McElroy 1982). The contemporary Bahamas situation, however, is clearly discontinuous with the past. Akin to other British colonial dependencies, the post-emancipation economy

of the Bahamas was characterized by faltering monoculture and meager subsistence alleviated periodically by brittle export revivals and artificial wartime conditions. Against a backdrop of chronic depression, these short-lived economic upturns only reduced rather than reversed the long-standing outflow of wage labor.

METHODOLOGY

This study examines recurrent migration from the Bahamas from 1901 to 1963, the date of the territory's first restrictive Immigration Act (Segal 1975: 109) and shortly before the 1966 phaseout of formalized metropolitan (United States) recruitment of Bahamian labor. The analytical framework is taken from Mitchell (1978) who argues that migration patterns must be understood within the interacting contexts of both the "setting" and the "situation." The former focuses on the overall economic, political, and administrative structures which condition the migration experience, while the latter embraces the particular circumstance that surround actual or potential migrants. This framework contrasts with the migration models commonly found in the literature,⁵ but follows the livelihood adaptation approach in recent works (Carnegie 1982; Richardson 1983).

Given this approach, we have attempted to sketch the general economic history of the archipelago, discuss the fragility of the Bahamian resource base, examine the circumstances under which labor migration took place and the influences of colonial policy and regional labor demand on the movement of Bahamians. To do this, we have relied on a combination of demographic statistics and historical data contained in British colonial dispatches, Annual Reports of Resident Justices and Commissioners on the various islands, the Colonial Annual Reports, and a variety of other archival materials. While the focus of this paper is on temporary and recurrent migration, it is impossible to disentangle labor migration from "permanent" migration since (1) migration intentions often differ from the actual migration experience, and (2) aggregated migration data do not adequately capture the extent of temporary migration.

HISTORICAL BACKDROP

The original inhabitants of the Bahamas, the Lucayan Indians, were

wiped out within 30 years of Columbus' first landfall on the island of San Salvador by Spanish raiders seeking slaves for mine work in Cuba and Hispaniola. The islands became an English possession in 1629 and the island of Eleuthera was first settled in 1647 by a band of dissident protestants from Bermuda.

Other groups from both Bermuda and the Carolinas followed and established cotton and tobacco plantations. By 1670 there were 1,100 inhabitants with roughly 80 percent residing in New Providence. For most of the rest of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, because of lax colonial administration, repeated Spanish attacks on New Providence, and exhausted soil, buccaneering provided the most durable livelihood and Nassau came to be known as a pirates' haven. According to the 1741 census, nearly a century after colonization there were no permanent settlers in the out-islands (Craton 1962: 138).

The aftermath of the American revolution profoundly altered the demographic, social, and commercial structure of the Bahamas. Between 1783 and 1789, over 2000 loyalists plus their slaves migrated to the territory from ports in the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, and New York (Peters 1960; Brown 1976). This influx trebled the population and increased the proportion of slaves from one-half to three-fourths. Loyalist energies created the modern city of Nassau and were largely responsible for the ten-fold increase in merchandise trade between 1774 and 1787 (Craton 1962: 170). With generous Crown land grants, the refugees attempted to recreate American plantation life. For the first time expanded permanent settlement occurred in the out-islands. A few in the Northern Bahamas tier (Elbow Cay, Man of War Cay, Green Turtle Cay) became almost exclusively white. Between 1785 and 1787, even before the historic immigration was over, cotton acreage and output had nearly doubled. But by 1805 the cotton boom had passed because of pests, over-planting, and land-clearing methods which destroyed the little fertility Bahamian soils possessed (Shattuck 1905: 149). Many Loyalists remigrated while those remaining in the out-islands were forced to adopt the lifestyle of the earlier settlers ("conchs"), scratching the soil, fishing, privateering and wrecking.⁶

The nineteenth century witnessed the search for a more secure economic base, particularly in the out-islands⁷. Wrecking as an activity diminished as better charts of Bahamian waters became available and lighthouses were erected.⁸ The post-emancipation depression was interrupted by a series of unsuccessful export revivals. Between 1855-1857 a conch boom developed because cameo brooches were fashionable in France and Italy. Blockade-running during the early

years (1860-1863) of the American Civil War realized a remarkable twenty-fold increase in Bahamian trade, with Nassau never knowing a more frenzied interlude before or since (Craton 1962: 228-9). Failed attempts to market tomatoes and cigars because of quality and spoilage problems were followed by other export industries - pineapples, citrus, sisal - which flourished precariously but inevitably collapsed (Johnson 1972).⁹ Sponge fishing along the Great Bahamas Bank provided the most durable of these periodic export cycles from roughly 1870 until World War II. The industry peaked at the turn of the century but fell apart in the 1930's when a combination of devastating hurricanes and a blight destroyed the sponge beds.¹⁰

For the majority of Bahamians, the early twentieth century brought little opportunity at home; poverty was the norm (Albury 1975: 184). World War I provided some relief - construction work on naval installations in Charleston, South Carolina, and military service in the British, Canadian, and U.S. armed forces. With the cessation of hostilities, economic disaster was forestalled by the rum-running bonanza created by prohibition in the United States. Giant liquor houses mushroomed in Nassau, and government revenues based on liquor duties rose astronomically. Unfortunately, as with sponge fishing, this artificial economy "produced an ever deeper separation between the 'haves' and 'have nots'" (Craton 1962: 267). The liquor business was exclusively controlled by the so-called "Bay Street Boys," a few white Bahamian families in Nassau, many of them descendants of Loyalists (Johnson 1972; Brown 1976).

For the average Bahamian, particularly the black Bahamian, the 1930's and early 1940's were years of depression "enveloped in dense gloom" (Albury 1975: 190). Some of the out-islands reported cases of actual starvation (Craton 1962: 269). Scarce employment and bleak wages were exacerbated by the final collapse of the sponge industry (1938). The outbreak of World War II helped alleviate conditions. There was conscription into the U.S. and British forces and local employment was generated by the U.S. Navy and by development schemes undertaken by the Canadian multi-millionaire Sir Harry Oakes and Swedish industrialist Axel Wenner-Grenn (Albury 1975). These internationally known entrepreneurs had been recruited to the Bahamas by the Bay Street Boys to promote the territory as a tax and tourist haven. In 1943, the U.S. also made provision for the entry of up to 5,000 Bahamians as contract farm laborers on a rotating basis, to assist the war effort in food production (Colonial Annual Report 1946). The farm labor program provided seasonal employment for Bahamians over the next 23 years.

As the demand for agricultural labor in the U.S. declined in the postwar era, local employment was rapidly expanding in the booming tourist sector, fueled at first by a swarm of rich European refugees (Segal 1975).¹¹ For example, between 1949 and 1960 the number of visitors and the value of construction activity increased ten-fold (Hughes 1981: 32, 92). By the early 1960's, the Bahamian transition from labor exporter to importer was well underway as immigrant workers arrived from Haiti and Turks and Caicos to satisfy the demands of the burgeoning tourism and construction industries in New Providence and Grand Bahama (Freeport) and to service the lumber and agro-industries in Abaco and Andros and the salt industry in Inagua.

BAHAMIAN LABOR MIGRATION, 1901 – 1963

Volume

Between 1901 and 1963 the total population of the Bahamas more than doubled but 80 percent of this growth occurred after World War II and the subsequent tourism boom underway in the 1950's. Chronic emigration characterized the early period. According to census data in Table 1, the population grew only four percent between 1901 and 1911 but natural increase was 15 percent for the same period indicating a net loss of 11 percent or 6,116 residents through migration. Between 1911–1921, net out-migration approached 20 percent (11, 527) and exceeded natural increase causing an absolute decennial population decline. These migration figures approximate other impressionistic estimates. Albury (1975: 169) writes that "records are scant but perhaps ten to twelve thousand Bahamians emigrated during the first two decades of this century. One Bahamian in every five left home." Craton (1962: 256) notes that in a roughly parallel period many islands lost 10 percent or more of their inhabitants to the U.S., with Inagua losing more than 30 percent of its population.

The positive net migration of 2,274 between 1921–1931 (see Table 1) resulted from: (1) the prohibition bonanza confined exclusively to New Providence and Grand Bahama; (2) return migration after the 1924 U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act which restricted entry of "negroes" from British West Indies to 200 per year (Reid 1939); and (3) immigration of mainly Jamaican and Cuban artesans to build vacation homes for Americans and to man a public works program funded with liquor duties (Johnson 1984).

TABLE 1. POPULATION CHANGES IN THE BAHAMAS BY ISLAND, 1901-1963

Island	1901	1911	1901 - 1911			1921	1911 - 1921			1931	1921 - 1931		
			A	B ¹	C		A	B ¹	C		A	B ¹	C
New Providence	12534	13554	1020	-662 ²	+1682	12975	-579	816	-1395	19756	6781	-835 ²	+7616
Grand Bahama	1780	1824	44	460	-416	1695	-129	350	-479	2241	546	228	+318
Abaco	3314	4463	1149	538	+611	3993	-470	442	-912	4233	240	318	-78
Acklin's Island	1565	1733	168	462	-294	1811	78	447	-369	1765	-46	172	-218
Andros	6347	7545	1198	1845	-647	6976	-569	1650	-2219	7071	95	1050	-955
Berry Islands	382	487	105	121	-16	328	-159	113	-272	222	-106	60	-166
Bimini, Cay Lobos													
Cay Sal	563	505	-58	77	-135	638	133	93	+40	756	118	98	+20
Cat Island ³	4658	5072	414	1124	-710	4273	-799	683	-1482	3959	-314	691	-1005
Crooked Island	1597	1541	-56	291	-347	1481	-60	362	-422	1329	-152	102	-254
Eleuthera Harbor													
Island, Spanish													
Wells	10499	8119	-2380	1326	-3706	7547	-572	1301	-1873	7527	-20	710	-730
Exuma And Cays	3086	3465	379	1033	-654	3730	265	633	-368	3774	44	730	-686
Inagua	1453	1343	-110	53	-163	937	-406	85	-491	667	-270	33	-303
Long Cay	499	376	-123	21	-144	166	-210	8	-218	144	-22	-15	-7
Long Island	3562	4159	597	1202	-605	4659	500	1262	-762	4515	-144	808	-952
Mayaguana	335	358	23	105	-82	432	74	105	-31	518	86	81	+5
Ragged Island	365	353	-12	104	-116	366	13	92	-79	424	58	105	-47
San Salvador ⁴ &													
Rum Cay	1196	1047	-149	225	-374	1024	-23	172	-195	927	-97	187	-284
Bahamas Total	53735	55944	2209	8325	-6116	53031	-2913	8614	-11527	59828	6797	4523	+2274

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TABLE I. POPULATION CHANGES IN THE BAHAMAS BY ISLAND, 1901-1963 (Cont'd.)

Island	1931 - 1943					1943 - 1953				1953 - 1963		
	1943	A	B ¹	C	1953	A	B ¹	C	1963	A	B ¹	C
New Providence	29391	9635	2843	+6792	46125	16739	13675	+3059	80907	34782	13009	+21773
Grand Bahama	2333	92	647	-555	4095	1762	458	1304	8230	4135	1557	+2578
Abaco	3461	-772	681	-1453	3407	-54	508	-562	6490	3083	994	+2089
Acklin's Island	1744	-21	486	-507	1273	-471	250	-721	1217	-56	272	-328
Andros	6718	-353	2291	-2644	7136	418	1400	-982	7461	325	2682	-2357
Berry Islands	403	181	71	+110	327	-76	55	-131	266	-61	37	-98
Bimini, Cay Lobos												
Cay Sal	725	-31	250	-281	1330	605	257	+348	1658	328	484	-156
Cat Island ³	3870	-89	1029	-1118	3201	-669	1312	-1981	3131	-70	691	-761
Crooked Island	1078	-251	168	-419	836	-242	97	-339	766	-70	80	-150
Eleuthera, Harbor												
Island, Spanish Wells	7864	337	1659	-1322	7596	-268	1008	-1276	9093	1497	2018	-521
Exuma and Cays	3784	10	1087	-1077	2919	-865	743	-1608	3440	521	685	-164
Inague	890	223	155	-68	999	109	167	-58	1240	241	425	-184
Long Cay	101	-43	-2	-41	80	-21	2	-23	22	-58	17	-75
Long Island	4564	49	1089	-1040	3755	-809	808	-1617	4176	421	983	-562
Mayaguana	591	73	159	-86	615	24	138	-114	707	92	247	-155
Ragged Island	417	-7	102	-109	320	-97	79	-176	371	51	144	-93
San Salvador ⁴ &												
Rum Cay	912	-15	184	-199	827	-85	79	-164	1045	218	288	-70
Bahamas Total	68846	9018	12899	-3881	84841	15995	21036	-5041	130220	45379	24613	+20766

Sources: 1. Colony Blue Books - Bahamas 1901-1940
 2. Commonwealth of the Bahamas - Statistical Abstract 1970
 3. Commonwealth of the Bahamas - Vital Statistics 1978

A- Intercensal Change
 B- Natural Increase
 C- Estimated Net Migration

Notes: 1. Adjusted for Census dates
 2. Higher deaths in New Providence because of deaths at hospital of ill persons from other islands.
 3. Prior to 1926 Cat Island was called San Salvador
 4. Formerly Watlings Island

During the depressed 1931-1943 period between the end of prohibition and the beginning of the war, net migration again became negative. In addition to military conscription, the next major exodus of Bahamians occurred with the 1943 launching of the U.S. Farm Labor Program with provisions for recruiting up to 5,000 Bahamians seasonally. Estimated migration of 5,041 between 1943-1953 reflects this impact. The annual exodus of labor continued for over two decades but seasonal migration under the Program's auspices began to decline in 1955 and reached a low of 200 by 1966 (Albury 1975).

These decennial migration trends are broadly confirmed by the annual figures for 1920 through 1946 taken from the Colony Blue Books. Table 2 indicates heavy emigration before the enactment of the 1924 U.S. Immigration Act as well as some migration coinciding with the destruction of the sponge beds (1937-1938) and further heavy emigration with the start-up of the U.S. Farm Labor Program (1943). However, the fact that net migration was positive over most of the 1920-1946 period may suggest a pattern of migration and return especially during the 1921-1931 years when many Bahamians returned from Central America and were repatriated (after 1924) from Florida. This contention also seems plausible from the data in Table 6 since the nativity composition of the population did not appreciably change between 1901 and 1943. Another possibility is that "Immigrants" and "Emigrants" in Table 2 actually refer to arrivals and departures (Kuczynski 1953: 55), and include a relatively large proportion of winter visitors (see Colonial Annual Reports 1931, 1932).¹²

The Out-Islands

An enduring facet of Bahamian history is that the long series of ephemeral economic revivals woefully by-passed the out-islands. This is clear from Table 1. With the exception of Abaco, all these islands suffered absolute population declines between 1901 and 1953, and with only a few minor exceptions, experienced negative net migration for every census period between 1901 and 1963, indicating persistent emigration as well as a process of rural drift, primarily to New Providence, which had begun at least a century earlier (Hughes 1981: 12). In addition to resource scarcity, two internal forces largely responsible for this stark picture of peripheral depopulation were the policy neglect by the Nassau mercantile elite (Lewis 1968: 315) and the absence of a yeoman tradition (Hughes 1981: 14). Some specific if fragmentary details regarding the volume of migration from various islands and for

TABLE 2. NET MIGRATION,¹ BAHAMAS, 1920-1946

Year	Number of Immigrants			Number of Emigrants			Net Migration
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
1920			2964			5134	- 2170
1921	3224	1539	4763	3106	1847	4955	- 192
1922	4060	1997	6057	3503	2111	5614	+ 443
1923	3840	2037	5877	4906	3220	8126	- 2249
1924	3597	2275	5872	3218	2447	5665	+ 207
1925	3781	2359	6140	3120	2051	5171	+ 969
1926	2067	1121	3188	1410	768	2178	+1010
1927	4218	2758	6976	3484	2317	5801	+1175
1928	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1929	4970	3894	8864	5053	3809	8862	+ 2
1930	4350	3205	7555	4209	3103	7317	+ 238
1931	4063	3073	7136	3907	2996	6903	+ 233
1932	2770	2081	4851	2703	2011	4714	+ 137
1933	2945	2154	5099	3166	1752	4918	+ 181
1934	4156	5288	7684	4064	3514	7578	+ 106
1935	4693	4248	8941	4662	4112	8774	+ 167
1936	5818	5490	11308	5533	5384	10917	+ 391
1937	6912	6554	13466	7026	6921	13947	- 481
1938	5937	5440	11377	5966	5523	11489	- 112
1939	6304	6601	12905	6238	6458	12696	+ 209
1940	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	+ 296
1941	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	- 250
1942	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	+ 345
1943 ²	2378	1406	3784	4329	2093	6422	- 2638
1944	3779	2177	5956	2415	2176	4591	+1365
1945	1536	3001	8137	3501	2527	6028	+2109
1946	11315	8635	19950	7031	6452	13483	+6467

Sources: 1. Colony Blue Books, Bahamas 1920-1939, 1943-1946.

2. Kuczynski 1953: 55, 1940-1942.

Notes: ¹ We suspect "immigrants" and "emigrants" are more correctly arrivals and departures (see Kuczynski 1953: 55).

² Includes only the period from April 26 to December 31.

various years can be gleaned from colonial dispatches and consular reports and are sketched below.

Unfortunately, there is little information on the number of Bahamian laborers recruited to work in Panama and elsewhere in Central America. In 1908 314 contract workers returned from Mexico to Inagua (the main port of recruitment for the Southern Bahama Islands) after a year of service while over 500 remained in Mexico and

Central America (Annual Report of the Commissioner for the District of Inagua 1908). In 1912 "a large number of men" from Acklins and Crooked Island found work in Panama (Annual Report for Long Cay, Acklins, and Crooked Island 1912), but after 1916 when Florida had emerged as the preferred destination very few Bahamians were contracted for employment in Central America.

The sparse accounts available suggest the exodus north to Miami from Nassau until 1924, for farm labor and construction work, was similar in impact to the large-scale emigration of thousands of spongers to Key West in the early 1890's (Sharer 1955). The colonial governor complained at the turn of the century that there was "not one master carpenter, blacksmith, or mason in the colony" (Shattuck 1905: 600). Migration was particularly heavy in 1911 when 3,230 Bahamians migrated on schooners and a motor vessel making weekly runs to Miami, while only 1,964 returned. This outflow caused great "anxiety to the government and inconvenience to sponge outfitters and other employers of labor" (British Ambassador Bryce's letter, April 13, 1911). In 1918, between 2,500 and 3,000 men, primarily from the northern and central out-islands, were recruited to work on the U.S. Navy installations in Charleston, South Carolina. Most of these men came from Abaco, Andros, the Exumas, Eleuthera, Harbor Island, Spanish Wells, and Long Island. By 1919 the once famed Abaco sponging fleet was reduced to two vessels (Annual Report, Abaco, 1919), and by 1923 the situation in the out-islands had become so critical that the Colonial Annual Report of 1923-24 (No. 1202: 4) noted that nothing could be done to check the "gradual depopulation of these islands."

In the Southern Bahama Islands, employment was routinely provided by ships taking on stevedores expressly for the purpose of unloading and loading cargoes in Central American, South American and West Indian ports. In 1902, 143 steamers and 85 sailing vessels called in at Inagua and took on 2,880 workers, a total many times more than the number of able bodied men in Matthew Town (Albury 1975: 198). By 1912, an average of 160 stevedores were being employed monthly from Inagua, Long Cay, Crooked Island, Acklin's Island and Mayaguana. This number dwindled to about 60 men monthly after 1929, and by 1950 the recruitment of stevedores ceased.

The waves of labor recruited annually in the postwar U.S. Farm Labor Program were substantial averaging roughly 4,000 per year between 1947 and 1953 (Colonial Annual Report 1947, 1948, 1952, 1953). The exodus continued in the Southern Bahamas into the

1960's.¹³ By the time of the termination of the farm labor program in 1966 fewer than 200 laborers were involved (Albury 1975).

The effects of areal size and population density on the rate of out-migration/emigration from the out-islands during the first half of the twentieth century are summarized in Table 3. As expected, but contrary to much of the Caribbean literature (Roberts 1955; Segal 1975), population pressure was not a determinant of migration. In fact, the data indicate that New Providence with the highest density experienced the greatest net in-migration whereas sparsely inhabited islands like Andros suffered from extensive out-migration/emigration. This migratory pattern of an expanding center (Nassau) at the expense of a contracting periphery has been noted elsewhere (Brookfield 1980) and attests to the impoverishment of the out-islands and the traditional response to this deprivation.

Migrant Destinations

Figure 1 shows the various migrant destinations and streams for the period 1890-1966.

TABLE 3. AREAL SIZE, AND RANKINGS ON POPULATION DENSITY AND THE RATE OF NET MIGRATION FOR THE BAHAMAS, BY ISLAND, 1901-1963

Island	Area in Sq. Miles	Rank	Population Density ¹							
			1901 Rank	1911 Rank	1921 Rank	1931 Rank	1943 Rank	1953 Rank	1963 Rank	1901-1963 Rank
New Providence	80	13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Grand Bahama	530	4	15	16	15	15	15	12	9	14
Abaco	649	2	14	13	13	13	14	15	11	13
Acklin's Island	192	7	12	12	12	12	12	13	14	12
Andros	2300	1	17	14	16	16	16	16	15	16
Berry Islands	12	15	5	4	6	8	5	4	6	5
Bimini, Cay Lobos										
Cay Sal	11	16	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Cat Island ⁴	150	8	6	6	5	4	7	7	7	6
Crooked Island	84	12	9	9	10	10	9	9	12	10
Eleuthera, Harbor										
Island, Spanish Wells	200	6	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3
Exuma and Cays	112	9	7	7	4	5	4	5	4	4
Inagua	599	3	13	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
Long Cay	9	17	2	3	9	9	10	11	16	9
Long Island	230	5	10	10	8	7	8	8	8	8
Mayaguana	110	10	16	14	14	14	13	14	13	15
Ragged Island	14	14	8	8	7	6	6	6	5	7
San Salvador ⁵										
and Rum Cay	90	11	11	11	11	11	11	10	10	11

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TABLE 3 CONTINUED

Rate of Net Migration²

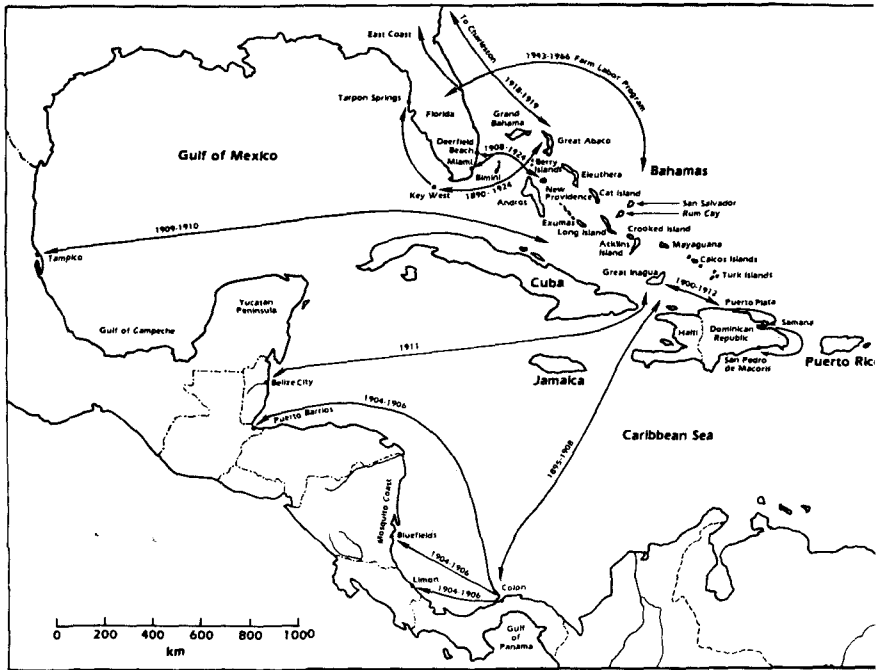
1901-11 Rank ³	1911-21 Rank	1921-31 Rank	1931-43 Rank	1943-53 Rank	1953-63 Rank	1901-63 Rank
16	14	17	16	15	15	17
7	7	16	10	17	16	13
17	11	13	3	12	17	16
10	5	9	6	13	3	6
14	6	8	2	13	3	6
15	1	1	17	6	2	4
5	17	14	1	16	11	14
12	4	4	7	1	6	2
8	9	7	4	7	8	5
1	8	11	13	11	13	7
9	15	6	8	2	14	10
13	3	2	15	14	9	12
3	2	12	5	8	1	1
11	13	5	11	5	10	11
6	16	15	14	9	7	15
2	10	10	9	3	4	3
4	12	3	12	9	12	9

Sources: Table 3.05, Commonwealth of the Bahamas Statistical Abstract, 1980 Table 1.

- Notes: ¹ A Rank of 1 represents highest population density and 17 lowest.
- ² Computed from Table 1. Rankings are reported here instead of actual net migration rates, whose absolute values cannot be determined without error. However, the relative difference between rates for any intercensal period should remain the same.
- ³ A rank of 1 represents the highest rate of emigration/outmigration and 17 the lowest or in some cases the highest rate of immigration/in-migration.
- ⁴ Prior to 1926 Cat Island was called San Salvador.
- ⁵ Formerly Watlings Island.

Between 1895-1908, the primary destination for Bahamian labor migrants was Colón in Panama. Though quantitative estimates are lacking, most migrants were from the Southern Bahama Islands. When canal activity wound down, many Bahamians proceeded to Costa Rica, Honduras, and Guatemala where they found work on United Fruit Company and Atlantic Fruit Company plantations. Some went as far north as Mexico. From 1900 to 1912, a fairly sizeable number of Southern Bahamians were recruited seasonally as cane cutters to work in San Pedro de Macorís, Puerto Plata and Sánchez in the Dominican Republic. The Law of 1912, designed to restrict "colored" immigration into the Dominican Republic, substantially curtailed this seasonal Bahamian migration (Colonial Office Dispatch, Bahamas No. 90, 1912).¹⁴

Figure 1. Labor Migration and Emigration from the Bahamas, 1890 to 1966



In 1909 a number of men from New Providence, Inagua, Crooked Island, Acklins Island and Long Cay were recruited to work at the Mexican port of Tampico and on the Cardenas/ Monterrey division of the National Railways of Mexico.

After 1908, Florida became the major destination of Bahamian migrant laborers. Migration from the Northern Bahama Islands (Abaco, Grand Bahama, Biminis, Berry Islands, New Providence and Eleuthera) was mainly to Miami, Key West and the Gulf Coast of Florida, while Southern Bahamians went primarily to Miami and up the East Coast of Florida. During this period (1908-1924) these migrants cast their stamp on Coconut Grove and Deerfield Beach.¹⁵ With the exception of migration to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1918, Florida continued to be the major destination of Bahamians even after the enactment of the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924.¹⁶ By the 1930's migration to foreign destinations had dwindled, and it was only war-time employment and the creation of the 1943 U.S. Farm Labor

TABLE 4. SEX RATIO¹ BY ISLAND, FOR CENSUS YEARS 1901-1963

Island	Census Year	Sex Ratio						
		1901	1911	1921	1931	1943	1953	1963
New Providence		78.0	77.1	77.8	81.6	84.8	86.3	92.8
Grand Bahama		95.4	75.4	75.8	96.2	91.9	114.5	119.7
Abaco		89.8	100.2	91.9	98.9	96.2	94.6	119.3
Acklins Island		81.8	71.9	72.6	74.4	77.8	54.9	72.1
Andros		101.2	105.6	96.8	96.8	88.6	107.1	91.5
Berry Islands		122.1	134.1	82.2	74.8	94.7	127.1	146.3
Bimini, Cay Lobos and Cay Sal		93.5	87.0	130.3	113.6	104.4	112.1	101.0
Cat Island		81.4	70.1	70.8	84.1	84.1	72.1	80.9
Crooked Island		84.4	63.1	58.6	61.5	60.4	45.9	71.8
Eleuthers, Harbor Island and Spanish Wells		91.0	80.2	86.7	93.0	94.6	93.1	99.0
Exuma and Cays		80.2	68.3	75.1	80.0	88.5	65.3	87.8
Inagua		106.1	78.2	99.8	100.3	104.1	99.4	95.6
Long Cay		106.2	59.3	69.4	71.4	44.3	56.8	83.3
Long Island		82.5	73.7	72.1	115.4	93.0	81.8	95.2
Mayguana		92.5	70.5	66.8	111.2	85.8	85.2	80.8
Ragged Island		110.0	87.8	89.6	97.2	128.8	96.3	87.4
San Salvador and Rum Cay		79.0	70.2	75.9	76.6	77.4	89.7	81.4
Bahamas Total		87.0	80.6	81.4	87.1	87.5	86.5	95.1

Source: Table 3.04 Commonwealth of the Bahamas, Statistical Abstract 1980.

Note: ¹ Number of males per 100 females.

Program that alleviated the dismal local employment picture. Under the Farm Program, Bahamians were recruited to work cane fields and fruit groves in Florida and on farms all the way up the eastern seaboard to the Carolinas, Virginia, New Jersey, New York and on into Minnesota and Michigan (Greenberg 1978: 172). A few were employed in factories in New York, New Jersey and Michigan.

The Migrant Stream

The conventional age-sex selectivity of migration is largely confirmed by the various Bahamian migrations since 1900. Numerous data sources indicate male dominance of the migrant stream while reports and correspondence underscore that the men were mostly young.¹⁷ An examination of sex ratios by island in Table 4 suggests sharp declines in the male proportion of the population throughout most out-islands during the first two decades (1901–1921) of heavy out-migration/emigration. Falling trends are particularly strong for Acklins, Berry Islands, Cat and Crooked Islands, Long Cay, and Mayaguana. Over the next two decades (1921–1943), the ratios rise almost universally, reflecting substantial return migration resulting from U.S. immigration restrictions and the depression lull before wartime activity created new employment opportunities. Likewise, trends are reversed in most out-islands between 1943–1953 when migration under the U.S. Farm Labor Program was most intense.

Generally, male migrants were young. For example, the 1916 Annual Report for Cat Islands notes “that the majority of young men in the district continue to earn their living in Florida”. This same conclusion is echoed in the 1912, 1916, and 1918 Annual Reports for the District of Long Island and in the Colonial Annual Reports (1922–23 and 1923–24). Annual Reports from other islands are more qualified: “young men of the better classes all go away as soon as they are old enough there being no openings for them at home” (Eleuthera 1916); the “most energetic and ambitious islanders” leave (Abaco 1924). Only the 1912 Annual Report for Exuma notes a fairly sizeable number of middle-aged men in the migrant stream. Certainly the population distribution figures in Table 5 support the claim of numerous “middle-aged” migrants because of the particularly low and declining (as tracked per censal period) sex ratios for the 20–44 age groupings. These data parallel the trends of migration and return in Table 4 but also suggest a long-term tradition of livelihood mobility among most age segments of the work force.

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF THE BAHAMAS BY AGE AND SEX FOR CENSUS YEARS 1911 - 1963

	1911		1921		1931		1943		1953		1963	
Age Group	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-4	6.8	7.2	7.7	7.4	7.2	7.3	7.2	7.1	7.7	7.9	9.4	9.3
5-9	7.0	7.0	5.8	5.8	6.2	6.3	6.4	6.3	6.3	6.2	7.5	7.5
10-14	6.7	6.6	6.6	6.7	6.3	6.5	5.5	5.5	5.8	5.7	5.2	5.2
15-19	4.5	6.4	4.5	5.9	5.5	6.1	4.4	5.3	4.3	5.1	4.0	4.1
20-24	2.9	5.6	3.0	5.5	4.2	5.5	4.2	5.4	3.6	4.6	5.0	4.3
25-29	2.6	4.5	2.4	4.2	3.2	4.1	4.1	4.6	3.1	4.0	3.7	3.9
30-34	2.2	3.2	2.0	3.4	2.0	2.8	3.2	3.8	2.7	3.6	3.0	3.1
35-39	2.0	3.0	2.5	3.7	2.2	3.2	2.5	3.2	3.1	3.6		
40-44	2.0	2.6	2.1	2.7	1.8	2.2	1.9	2.6	2.6	3.1	4.7	5.1
45-54	3.4	4.1	3.6	4.5	3.6	4.2	2.9	4.1	3.3	4.3	3.8	4.1
55-64	2.2	2.5	2.6	3.0	2.4	2.7	2.4	2.8	1.9	2.6	1.9	2.3
65+	1.5	1.8	1.8	2.4	1.5	2.1	1.9	2.5	1.8	2.6	1.4	2.2
Not Stated	.8	.9	.2	.2	.7	.4	.2	.2	.3	.3	.2	.1
Total ¹	44.6	55.4	44.8	55.4	46.8	53.4	46.8	53.4	46.5	53.6	48.8	51.2

Sources: 1. Report of the Census of the Bahama Islands, 1911
 2. Report of the Census of the Bahama Islands, 1921
 3. Table 3.03, Commonwealth of the Bahamas, Statistical Abstract 1978

Note: ¹Totals for male and female do not add to exactly 100.0 because of rounding.

Reasons for Migration

The constellation of forces that comprise the setting and situation which conditioned the ebb and flow of Bahamian labor migration, included above all the dismal local employment picture repeatedly emphasized in historical records. The lack of opportunity was mainly due to the subsistence nature of the agricultural economy, the narrow resource base, and harsh climatic conditions. During the first half of this century, agriculture (supplemented by fishing), the "abiding natural occupation of the people" (Colonial Annual Report 1929: 17) provided a meager livelihood "owing to the uncompromising nature of the soil" and the difficulty in transporting crops to Nassau and other markets (Colonial Annual Report 1925: 8). Production was further reduced by poor farming practices.¹⁸ In lean years whole districts were denuded by emigration/out-migration.

The fragile and worn out agricultural base was severely taxed and often destroyed by hurricanes and droughts. In the aftermath of a particularly damaging hurricane, migration usually stepped up. The 1908 hurricane destroyed citrus trees, the sisal and cotton crops, and ground provisions as well, and prompted a wave of labor migration to Colon, especially from Long Cay, Acklins Island and Crooked Island. Hurricanes also periodically ravaged sponge fishing beds. By 1918-1919 this repeated damage and depletion from overfishing forced many men to foresake sponging for jobs in Florida and Charleston. In 1926 three hurricanes ravaged the Bahamas and destroyed the remaining sponge beds for Abaco fisherman, creating an exodus to Tarpon Springs Florida. The effects of the 1926 hurricanes were felt on practically every island - many lives were lost, whole settlements were washed away, thousands of buildings damaged or destroyed, livestock killed, and crops completely ruined (Colonial Annual Report 1926: 9). Thousands of people were left homeless and without food, and many flocked to Nassau hoping to find work there or passage to Florida where they could stay temporarily with relatives. The food shortage caused by the hurricanes of 1926 was accentuated by a severe drought in 1927 which destroyed all the new crops that had been planted in the Southern Bahama Islands, setting into motion another wave of labor migration (Colonial Annual Report 1927).

Most of the out-islands were dependent on a single industry the failure/closure of which further exacerbated unemployment and usually prompted a spate of migration. The shutting down of the Wilson City Lumber Works (1918) was a great blow to the people of

Abaco. Many had to migrate to Florida to find work or had to sign on for construction jobs in Charleston (Dodge 1983). The closing down of the salt industry in Inagua, because of competition from U.S. firms and a six-percent protective tariff, also resulted in migration to Central America and North America. Likewise, the fortunes of Matthew Town (Inagua) and Long Cay were closely intertwined with shipping line schedules and the demand for stevedores. When the ships no longer called to take on stevedores, men were forced to migrate to Nassau and Florida to find alternative employment.¹⁹

To these internal determinants of migration must be added a complement of significant external and institutional influences. United States and European investment in the circum-Caribbean had created a demand for labor, and Colonial policy and convenient shipping schedules facilitated the movement of workers from labor-surplus to labor-scarce areas. Labor contracts were negotiated and/or approved by the Government of the Bahamas, licenses granted recruiting agents, legislation enacted for the protection of migrants, provisions made for the remittances of savings, and ships retained to move these laborers back and forth. When the demand for labor declined and with protectionist sentiments and restrictive immigration laws abroad (U.S., the Dominican Republic, Central America, and Mexico), Bahamians were increasingly forced to find ways to subsist at home, despite the fact that the same local impoverishment that prompted earlier exoduses still persisted. In summary, it was the lack of job opportunities at home coupled with demand for labor abroad and a policy of active encouragement of labor migration that best explains Bahamian geographic mobility in this century.

Recruitment and Conditions of Service

The major mechanism of recruitment was the labor contract. However, such contracts were not carefully scrutinized by the Bahamas Government and the recruitment process was seldom closely monitored. A wealth of information points to the "unsatisfactory nature of the system under which coloured labourers" from the Southern Bahama Islands were engaged for service in Mexico and Panama (Colonial Office Dispatch No. 62, 1906). The Foreign Labourers Protection Act of 1904 provided Bahamian migrant laborers insufficient protection from unscrupulous employers. The British Colonial Office, therefore, called for further legislation to be patterned after Jamaican statutes which resulted in the enactment of the Bahamas Emigrant Labourers

Protection Act of 1907 (revised in 1909). This Act required that all labor contracts contain a description of the work, specify the period of contract, the normal daily working hours, the customary hours for meals, the rate of pay for overtime, and make provisions for free board, lodging, transportation and medical attention of workers, plus mandatory savings of the workers' wages and periodic remittances to his family.²⁰

While on the surface an enlightened piece of legislation, this Act still contained potential for abuse since it also required laborers to be diligent, honest, careful and attentive, to work overtime and on Sundays, and not to absent themselves from work without a reasonable excuse. If a laborer engaged in "wilful misconduct, intemperance or immorality," he was not entitled to receive his wages (Emigrant Laborers Protection Act of 1907). Though the legislation discouraged some foreign employers from engaging Bahamians, many contracts were successfully concluded. Various accounts indicate that the U.S. Government-supervised contract behind the Mason and Hanger Contracting Company and men resident in the Bahamas to build naval installations in Charleston (1918) was one of the best ever negotiated (Annual Report, Long Island 1918).

By far the best known and most closely monitored contract was the long-term Farm Labor Program between the United States Department of Labor and the Bahamas Government. A temporary labor office was set up in Nassau in 1943 to oversee the recruitment of agricultural workers (21-40 years of age) and to operate an accounting system that would keep track of compulsory deductions from workers' earnings for support of their dependents (Colonial Annual Report 1946).²¹ A Liaison Office was established in Orlando, Florida, to mediate disputes between Bahamian laborers and their employers and to monitor the conditions of the labor camps and insure that contract terms were carefully observed. A nine-month stint in the U.S. could typically include cutting cane and picking citrus in Florida, harvesting corn from Delaware to Minnesota, picking onions and peas in New York or Maine, and working tobacco in North Carolina (Greenberg 1978). Migrant biographies suggest such seasonal employment patterns were financially remunerative for the average Bahamian migrant as well as personally formative experiences (Greenberg 1978: 199).²²

Duration of Migration

Governed as it was by contract, most Bahamian labor migration was of

specified duration. Generally, Central American contracts involved commitments for one to three years while most U.S. programs were seasonal or annual. For example, the 1909 contract with the National Railways of Mexico required laborers for a period of one year to load and unload railway cars and steamers at the port of Tampico and to repair track on the Monterrey railway. On the other hand, when work on the Panama Canal was winding down, many Bahamians migrated elsewhere (Guatemala and Honduras) with or without contracts. Some were away in Central America for five years or more.

Migration to the U.S. was of much shorter duration, usually seasonal, and often recurrent. Migrants to Florida seldom absented themselves for more than a year. The general pattern was to leave for Florida in October and return the following May (Annual Report, Governor's Harbour, Eleuthera 1912; Annual Report, Long Island 1912). The end of the United States harvest season coincided with the demands for tending houses, crops and other family business in the Bahamas. The proximity of Florida made such commuting feasible. Migration to Charleston was also for a short duration. Most men who left in August-September, 1918, returned before Christmas or early in 1919. Under the U.S. Farm Labor Program most Bahamians were recruited annually for the duration of the harvest. In the case of Florida sugarcane, this was from November through March. However, unmarried migrants could retain employment up to two years:

Married men usually opted for a nine months stay, while single men, lacking the obligations toward a wife and children, could stay away from their families for upwards of two years. (Greenberg 1978: 173).

The Migrant Experience

Recorded migrant accounts paint a rather unfavorable picture of the working environment in Panama, Honduras and Mexico.²³ Many men returned in worse condition than when they had left. Some contracted venereal disease and tuberculosis, and others suffered from injuries sustained on the job (Annual Report for Inagua 1908). Despite the 1907 and 1909 Acts, the terms and conditions of contracts were seldom adhered to, and Bahamians occasionally returned home prematurely because of the poor treatment they had received.²⁴ Wages were arbitrarily taken in fines, overtime work not properly compensated, remittances to workers' families not made, and passages home routinely denied. The British Consul at Colón was too overburdened to investi-

gate all complaints and a fact-finding mission to the Canal Zone was undertaken in 1913 (Colonial Office Dispatch, Bahamas No. 25 1913). This resulted in a scheme to improve the protection and interest of British West Indians resident in Central America, yet by this time most Bahamians were migrating to the United States.

The Bahamian migrant experience in the United States was colored largely by race, with black migrants, primarily from the Southern Bahama Islands, complaining about the poor treatment they received, and whites from the Northern Bahamas praising conditions. In 1911 several incidences of alleged violence against black Bahamians in Miami were reported. Sir W. Grey Wilson, deputed to look into Bahamians' welfare in Florida, concluded that their "treatment was not altogether satisfactory" (Bryce 1911). Ensuing dispatches between the British Embassy in Washington, the British Consul General in New Orleans, the Colonial Office in London, and the Governor of the Bahamas, called for the appointment of a Vice Consul in Miami. After some investigation, it was concluded that there were no British subjects in Miami who were suitable for the post and that a Vice Consul "would have practically nothing to do but investigate complaints and grievances of colored Bahamians" (Bernays 1911). The suggestion was therefore made that the Governor of the Bahamas appoint one of his staff to visit Miami periodically.

Given the seemingly serious and chronic maltreatment of black Bahamian migrants, it is not surprising that the Assistant Resident Justice of Andros would write that "our young men prefer a seaman's life, which is a free one, to being a hired servant in a foreign land" (Annual Report, Nicoll's Town, Andros 1916). Likewise, the 1912 Annual Report for Arthur's Town, Cat Island, stated that "those who stay at home are far better off since many men return home crippled with rheumatism or otherwise broken down in health." By contrast, many men returned from Charleston looking very well and spoke highly of the treatment they had received as well as the "greenbacks" they were able to accumulate (Annual Report, Nicoll's Town, Andros 1918). But the Charleston contract was not universally acclaimed, and it is quite plausible that black migrants did not fare quite as well as their white counterparts. A number of men from Eleuthera and the Exumas died in Charleston, while the majority suffered from ill health. Many Eleutherans "returned home quite disgusted with the job, the conditions and treatment in Charleston not being what they had expected" (Annual Report, Rock Sound, Eleuthera 1918).

Details about migration experiences in later years, especially during

the 23-year postwar Farm Labor Program, are scant. On the one hand, it is clear Bahamians suffered the same well-documented abuses in Florida and elsewhere as other United States migrant farm laborers. On the other hand, although the contract explicitly rules out discrimination against Bahamians, anecdotal accounts suggest that aspects of the agreement were "ignored or not enforced" (Greenberg 1978: 202). Particularly in Florida during the "Jim Crow" era, Bahamian migrants commonly experienced racial epithets, slights by merchants, overwork from employers and occasionally black-stereotyping and concomitant police harassment and confrontations with local whites (Greenberg 1978). The same workers, however, generally conceded the overriding value of U.S. work and wages.

Remittances

Workers' remittances were substantial, sometimes irregular, but always important in the insular economy. Between 1900-1908, remittances from Panama and other Central American countries were the major income sources for many out-islands. In some cases money arrived sporadically, while in others it came up regularly on ships of the Hamburg-American Line. The local impact was often visible. The 1912 Annual Report for Long Cay, Acklins and Crooked Island notes "remittances from Colon have been larger this year and this is shown in the number of houses built and repaired in the district." This off-island income was supplemented in the Southern Bahama islands by additional earnings from stevedoring. In 1912, men recruited at Long Cay to work as stevedores earned a total of U.S. \$1400 a month. In Inagua, five ships from the Raporel Steamship Company trading with Haiti provided a payroll of £600 in June 1916, and one ship from the George D. Emery Company involved in loading timber in Central America had a payroll of £3,000. The 1929 payroll for stevedores recruited in Inagua amounted to U.S. \$32,174.

After 1908 remittances from the United States became significant. Money was regularly posted from Florida to out-island families with an average of U.S. \$40-\$50 per registered letter (Annual Report, The Bight, Cat Island 1913). In some areas "greenbacks" flowing in from Florida were considered the only "silver lining to a dark cloud" (Annual Report, Long Cay, Acklins and Crooked Island 1919). Accounts indicate the Charleston contract was particularly memorable for its local effects, since the wages paid were high and the men returned with good purses. Remittances continued to infuse the Bahamian economy

during the 1920s and 1930s although few Bahamians were able to find work abroad.

The inflow of United States dollars during the postwar U.S. Farm Labor Program spawned economic revivals particularly in the out-island communities most ravaged by the 1930s depression. Routine deductions from Bahamian workers' weekly pay checks ("25 cents of every dollar") were sent by the U.S. employers to the labor office in Nassau. From this main account an allowance was posted to the government offices on the island where the workers' dependents lived (Greenberg 1978: 174). In 1949, for example, remittances by an estimated 200 Cat Island workers in the United States amounted to nearly £3,000 (Annual Report, The Bight, Cat Island 1949). For the Bahamas as a whole, wage deductions for dependents in 1946 amounted to U.S. \$1,114,893. They declined in 1947 but rose to a high of U.S. \$1,417,340 in 1952 (Colonial Report 1952 and 1953). Total earnings of the approximately 4,500 Bahamians recruited to work in 1951 were about U.S. \$5 million. This total income from seasonal agricultural work in the U.S. exceeded the value of construction permits in the entire territory at roughly the same time (1949), and represented approximately 25 percent of total tourist spending (Bower 1963: 463).

Reasons for Return

Termination of labor contracts was the primary reason for the return of Bahamian migrants, although many Bahamians stayed on or remigrated elsewhere. All contracts entered into, especially after 1907, had a repatriation clause.

Labor conditions themselves also provided compelling reason for early return. When contracts were not honored by employers or did not live up to the expectations of Bahamian recruits, a mass exodus often resulted. Problems related to labor – unnecessary fines or other sanctions imposed on individual laborers – prompted some Bahamians to return home prematurely. Others were victims of prejudice and discrimination and returned home preferring to be free and poor than suffer such injustices.

Ill health was another major factor in the decision to return. Many Bahamians who worked in Central America, Mexico and the United States contracted malaria, typhoid fever, rheumatism, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, or suffered crippling job-related injuries, forcing some to return home invalid or otherwise broken down in health.

Homesickness/family reunification propelled a majority of Bahamians back to their home districts, as did familial and community obligations to clear fields, plant crops, tend fruit trees, and maintain homes and boats.

Sometimes immigration restrictions forced Bahamians to return home or prevented them from emigrating. The 1924 United States Immigration and Nationality Act dramatically stemmed the flow of Bahamians to Florida and resulted in the repatriation of a sizeable number of Bahamians working in Florida. As the Resident Justice for Long Cay, Acklins and Crooked Island noted in the 1924 Annual Report "now that Miami is closed people are returning home."

Impact of Migration on the Bahamas

Evaluating the impact of migration on the original sending society is a difficult exercise because interview data and historical accounts inevitably reflect individual biases regarding the benefits or costs of migration. To the individual Bahamian migrants and their families, the folklore suggests migration was an indispensable godsend. On the other hand, colonial officials and employers, especially in the out-islands, frequently decried migration's crippling effects on their communities. For example, the demographic impacts on some islands were dramatic. According to Table 1, between 1901-1921, the populations of Eleuthera, Inagua, and Long Cay fell 28, 36, and 67 percent respectively. During the U.S. Farm Labor wave (1943-1963), further declines were again recorded by Acklins (30 percent), Cat Island (19 percent), Crooked Island (29 percent), and Long Cay (78 percent).

Such drastic population declines, in combination with the chronic migration-induced sex-ratio imbalances (Table 4) - notably in New Providence, Acklins, Crooked Island, Cat Island, the Exumas, Long Cay, Long Island, San Salvador and Rum Cay - created severe local labor shortages. The common complaint was that "the best and most honest and energetic ... are emigrating to the Southern States" (Craton 1962: 255). Moreover, in the 1930s some towns were virtually deserted with residences and businesses untenanted and falling into decay (Albury 1975: 199). Surprisingly, migration had no visible effects on birth, death and marriage rates (see Table 6). This stability occurred primarily because Bahamian movements in this century have been largely recurrent labor migrations, generally of limited duration and often involving seasonal commuting. For the same reasons, persistent migration did not significantly alter the nativity composition of the

TABLE 6. CRUDE BIRTH, DEATH AND MARRIAGE¹ RATES IN THE BAHAMAS, 1901-1963

Year	Crude Birth	Crude Death	Crude Marriage	Year	Crude Birth	Crude Death	Crude Marriage	Year	Crude Birth	Crude Death	Crude Marriage
1901	39.6	23.8	11.9	1922	32.3	26.2	8.2	1943	38.4	17.1	13.7
1902	39.5	24.1	8.1	1923	31.8	27.9	9.7	1944	37.3	17.7	10.1
1903	38.7	21.6	7.8	1924	29.8	23.8	8.1	1945	32.3	20.5	6.8
1904	41.1	22.1	7.7	1925	28.0	23.5	8.2	1946	31.6	15.2	7.2
1905	40.3	21.4	7.9	1926	29.0	24.8	7.8	1947	NA	NA	NA
1906	40.4	22.8	8.6	1927	26.3	26.0	8.1	1948	34.6	15.0	9.4
1907	39.6	29.2	7.9	1928	NA	NA	NA	1949	35.4	15.1	8.9
1908	36.5	26.2	6.2	1929	30.6	19.6	8.4	1950	33.4	16.1	9.7
1909	39.0	21.1	7.3	1930	28.4	17.7	7.2	1951	NA	NA	NA
1910	38.2	26.1	7.5	1931	31.7	18.0	7.5	1952	34.2	13.1	NA
1911	34.0	21.7	7.1	1932	37.2	20.2	7.6	1953	37.6	12.2	7.7
1912	32.8	26.9	8.4	1933	29.9	18.7	6.8	1954	39.6	10.9	6.9
1913	34.5	25.9	9.1	1934	32.3	16.6	7.1	1955	31.3	10.2	7.2
1914	35.2	24.8	7.9	1935	34.6	16.6	8.5	1956	34.1	9.4	6.7
1915	44.2	20.6	6.7	1936	31.0	17.7	9.0	1957	30.8	7.9	7.0
1916	39.4	17.4	9.2	1937	34.0	15.8	9.4	1958	28.6	10.2	7.2
1917	39.3	20.8	7.6	1938	33.0	18.8	8.6	1959	28.6	9.0	8.0
1918	35.6	16.5	5.8	1939	32.4	17.6	8.8	1960	29.1	6.9	7.8
1919	37.3	18.7	6.6	1940	NA	NA	NA	1961	31.0	8.5	7.3
1920	36.2	22.7	6.6	1941	41.2	17.6	10.4	1962	27.7	6.5	6.6
1921	38.2	20.5	7.2	1942	NA	NA	NA	1963	NA	NA	NA

Sources: 1. Colony Blue Books - Bahamas

2. Bahamas - Vital Statistics Summaries and Reports, 1967, 1978

Note: ¹Based on revised population estimates

TABLE 7. POPULATION BY PLACE OF BIRTH, BAHAMAS, 1901-1963

Year	Total Population	Place of Birth											
		Bahamas		Other West Indies		USA and Canada		United Kingdom		Other Europe		All Other Countries	
		N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
1901	53,735	52196	97.1	628	1.2	386	.7	185	.3	22	—	328 ¹	.7
1911	55,944	54603	97.6	408	.7	511	.9	157	.3	30	.1	235	.4
1921	53,031	51980	98.0	249	.5	531	1.0	154	.3	47	.1	70	.1
1931	59,828	57560	96.2	590	1.0	1263	2.1	218	.4	131	.2	66	.1
1943	68,846	66168	96.1	903	1.3	1173	1.7	309	.4	145	.2	148	.2
1953	84,841	78896	93.0	1534	3.0	2091	2.5	793	1.0	201	.2	326	.3
1963	130,220	114438	87.9	8401 ²	6.4	4407	3.4	1752	1.3	603	.5	619 ³	.5

Source: 1901-1963 Censuses of the Bahama Islands

Notes: ¹ Of this number 308 were born in Africa

² Of this number 4170 were born in Haiti and 2639 in the Turks and Caicos Islands

³ Includes other commonwealth

population (see Table 7). This indirect demographic evidence that return was frequent and "permanent" migration was negligible contrasts the Bahamian pattern with migratory experiences elsewhere in the Caribbean.²⁵

There were myriad negative social spillovers associated with the recurrent exodus of able-bodied Bahamian males. A shortage of men meant that houses and boats fell into disrepair, fields went unplanted and untended, and women and children were forced to do the labor of men. Men leaving their families was seen to be the chief cause of immorality in the colony, while young people who returned from abroad, especially women, were observed to have changed for the worse (Annual Report, Author's Town, Cat Island 1916; Annual Report, Long Island 1931). Some migrants were also reported to have returned with various contagions which resulted in a marked increase in these diseases in hitherto relatively healthy island communities. The 1912 and 1916 Annual Reports for Arthur's Town, Cat Island, best summarize this negative view of Bahamian migration when they conclude that (1) "remittances do not make up for retrogression in the fields and other conditons that occur in the absence of men;" (2) "people do not improve physically, morally or financially while working abroad;" (3) "those who stay at home are far better off." In the same vein, many colonial authorities welcomed the 1924 United States Immigration and Naturalization Act, and the official position of the British Colonial office was that although the Act was likely to cause some personal hardship at first, the colony as a whole would benefit (Colonial Annual Report 1924: 4).

Yet this was a minority view. The vast majority of Bahamians and resident British officials on the out-islands saw migration as a great boon to their districts. Many communities prospered handsomely. Long Cay during its heyday (1900-1914) when it served as a port of call for the Hamburg-American Shipping Line, was called Fortune Island. Albury (1975: 199) similarly notes that the stevedoring center of Matthew Town, Inagua, was a magical place:

Its fine houses, broad streets, carriage traffic, and bustling commerce all combined to produce a throbbing, booming atmosphere. From there, workers departed to stevedore on ships of the Hamburg-American Line and Royal Netherlands Line, or to serve as contract laborers on the Panama Canal, Mexican Railway, and the mahogany industries of Central America. After their stint, they returned first to Inagua to throw a party, primed with 'Key' gin and barrelled beer, and then to drift back to their former lifestyles, a little richer and a little wiser.

The benefits attendant on labor migration attest to its durability as a livelihood strategy. Large number of houses were built and repaired with remittances. Migrant earnings were invested in new businesses. Men returned with new ideas, and occasionally with newly acquired skills and capital.²⁶ Migration also reduced unemployment at home (Annual Report, The Bight, Cat Island 1913). Returning migrants often came back politicized regarding their rights as workers and also with new attitudes towards black-white relationships. Such attitudinal changes were to fuel the growth of labor unions and the development of political consciousness among black Bahamians.

CONCLUSION

The Bahamas story illustrates many contours typical of other West Indian migrations. Above all, there was the conventional response to the familiar "push" conditions – poor soils, harsh weather, few industries – that constrained the majority of Bahamians from viable livelihood at home. The "pull" factors in the external environment included guaranteed employment, favourable wages, transportation, and contracts with provisions for income repatriation to support dependents left behind. Three somewhat distinct patterns were uncovered: the persistence of emigration from low-density out-island areas, the recurrent nature of migration, and its historical character in the contemporary context of an affluent, labor-short, immigrant society.

In the final analysis, however, to view Bahamian migration as solely a response to structural and historical conditions at home and abroad (the "setting") is to ignore the heroic dimensions of this migration and to reify the myriad reasons for the thousands of individual journeys (the "situation"). Certainly we must give Bahamians some credit in exercising control over their own livelihood mobility. While Rubenstein (1983: 304) argues that the "setting" takes precedence in the explanation of Caribbean migration, Richardson (1983: 176) clearly emphasizes the "situation":

long distance movements of West Indians from small islands are, from their standpoint, not so much manifestations of world-wide, macroeconomic shifts or disequilibria as they are ongoing livelihood adaptations to ensure survival on small, worn-out, and precarious resource bases.

The Bahamian story compels us again to examine both levels of analysis for understanding the richness of the migration experience.

NOTES

1. Otterbein (1966) in his study of family organization on Andros briefly touched upon migration of Andros Islanders. Dawn Marshall (1978) has addressed the issue of Haitian migration to the Bahamas and Boswell and Chibwa (1981) have examined internal migration between 1960-1970 - but Bahamian external migration remains an unexplored topic, with the exception of Greenberg's (1978) work on the Farm Labor Program.
2. This would, of course, suggest an intimate link with Florida and Haiti.
3. This section borrows heavily from the *Bahama Islands, 1980 Statistical Abstract*.
4. Data for 1977 from pg. 96 in *Yearbook of the Commonwealth 1984* (Foreign and Commonwealth Office); data for 1983 from Collinwood (1984), p. 615.
5. These include the two traditional narrow economic models which downplay non-market and institutional forces, i.e., the surplus labor theory (Lewis, 1954; Fei and Ranis, 1964) and Todaro's (1976) wage-differential model, as well as the more recent historical-structural model (Watson 1976; History Task Force 1979; Maldonado Denis 1980; Rubenstein 1983). This latter view emphasizes how external capitalist forces integrate preindustrial societies into the global capitalist economy through the migrant labor system, but it often reifies the migrant experience and obscures the impact of local conditions.
6. Wrecking was the practice of luring ships onto reefs and then salvaging the cargo when the ships broke up.
7. Craton (1962: 217) writes that at mid-century "...the out-islands were relics of a poverty ... almost primeval."
8. As late as 1858, there were 302 licensed wreckers including a crew of nearly 2,700 (Craton 1962: 239). This represented 25-30 percent of the total work force.
9. Pineapples, planted almost exclusively on Cat Island and Eleuthera, peaked in 1900 with exports of over 7 million dozen. The industry was plagued by weather, spoilage in transport, inefficient growing methods, U.S. duties, poor quality, and the practice of bulk shipping in preference to grading (Shattuck 1905: 176).
10. In 1901, one-third of the Bahamian work force (approximately 6,000 men) depended on sponging for their livelihood. At its peak (1919) the Bahama sponge industry supplied a quarter of the world's sponges (Hughes 1981: 12).
11. Tourism which had begun as early as the 1850's became the mainstay of the economy of New Providence (Nassau) by the 1920's, with a substantial number of North Americans of the "wealthiest classes" flocking to Nassau annually for their winter vacations (Colonial Annual Report, No. 1202, 1924: 4). This tradition of the Bahamas as a playground for wealthy winter vacationers continued until the end of the 1940's when attempts were made to explore the mass market and attract year round tourists.

12. This mis-classification may also explain why the net migration total for 1931-1943 is over 1,000 short of the 3,881 census figure reported in Table 1.
13. In 1947, 212 laborers were contracted from Long Cay, Acklins and Crooked Island. By 1950 this number had declined to 160 and by 1960 to 77.
14. The motives of the law were twofold: (1) to improve the race by attracting white and/or Spanish-speaking immigrants; and (2) hostility towards British, French, and Danish "negroes" who formed the bulk of the plantation laborers.
15. The earliest Bahamian community in Florida was established in Key West during the heyday of the sponge industry. By 1892, there were 8,000 Bahamians living in Key West, roughly a third of the town (Hughes 1981: 13). Many American black residents of Eastern Florida are descendants of Bahamians who migrated to Miami, Coconut Grove and Deerfield Beach.
16. White Bahamians were exempted from the provisions of this Act, while black Bahamians were permitted entry for purposes of family reunification and if they could pass an education test.
17. Otterbein (1966) in his study of Andros Islands noted that 42 percent of the adult males were away at any one point in time.
18. According to Craton (1962) and Shattuck (1905), the soil was so routinely overworked it lost 50 percent of its productivity in five years, and then was left fallow 15-20 years. There was little use of fertilizers and no system of crop rotation.
19. The Hamburg American Line abandoned Long Cay as a port of call in 1914. Between 1911 and 1931 Long Cay's population declined from 376 persons to 141 (see Table 1).
20. The average monthly wage in Panama in 1907 was 5 American gold dollars clear of deductions plus one pound sterling for the laborer's family.
21. According to Greenberg (1978: 174), this deduction amounted to 25 percent and included a travel allowance "in case the laborer did go broke and had no money to return home with."
22. In the 1940s, an industrious worker could earn up to \$20-25 per day harvesting corn or cane.
23. There are no accounts of the experiences of Bahamian laborers in the Dominican Republic except oblique references to hostility shown "British, French and Danish Negroes" (Colonial Office Dispatch, Bahamas No. 90, 1912).
24. The contract with the Panama Railroad Company was one such example, with many men deserting after the first month of service.

25. There is evidence in Segal (1975) that the age-sex selectivity of large-scale migration from Barbados and Puerto Rico markedly reduced birth rates in those countries. McElroy & De Albuquerque (1984) have shown that recent emigration from St. Kitts-Nevis has both reduced birth rates and raised death rates.

26. The 1919 Annual Report for the District of The Bight, Cat Island, notes that "one man returning from Florida brought a plough, seed planter, and a weeder."

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JOHN GABRIEL STEDMAN'S COLLECTION OF
AMERINDIAN ARTIFACTS

In vol. 53 of the *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, Richard and Sally Price reported their examination and location of a collection of Bush Negro artifacts, made by John Gabriel Stedman in the eighteenth century and long thought lost, in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. For an absorbing account of how Stedman's collection came to be deposited in that museum and how it was identified, readers should consult that article. My purpose here is to complement that research with a brief report on the collection of Amerindian artifacts that was made by Stedman at the same time as the Bush Negro objects, and which were also found by the Prices in the museum at Leiden.

In general, Stedman's Amerindian collection is of less significance than the Bush Negro one, not least because only nine items are still extant in the former, but also because of the greater abundance of Amerindian objects to be found elsewhere in European museums. Nonetheless those objects that do remain are now nearly two centuries old and, especially when examined alongside similar articles of more recent origin, leave a clear impression of a strong cultural survival and continuity in Amerindian art and manufacture. Given the long history of European and Amerindian contact on the Wild Coast, where this collection was made, this fact is in itself noteworthy especially since it is possible to discern the pressure, even at the time that Stedman made his collection, of the European presence on the Amerindian political economy through the manufacture of certain items specifically for a "tourist" market. Stedman himself noted this phenomenon in relation to the sale of war-trophies, such as scalps and human bones, to the Europeans in Paramaribo (1796, I:401), although the "authenticity" of

his own collection is somewhat marred by the inclusion of at least one article that was obviously produced for this market (see below).

An illustration of all the original twenty-four items in Stedman's collection may be found in the *Narrative* (1796, I:406-407). These are now catalogued in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (360:5661-5681) under twenty-one descriptions, the compilers of the catalogue having apparently received only nineteen of the items from Stedman's collection, as well as having introduced two extraneous items and failing to distinguish the canoe and paddles that Stedman listed separately. Of these twenty-one items only nine could be located, although fourteen were listed as available; according to the museum's own records, the rest are missing. There is thus a possibility that a further five items may yet be found.

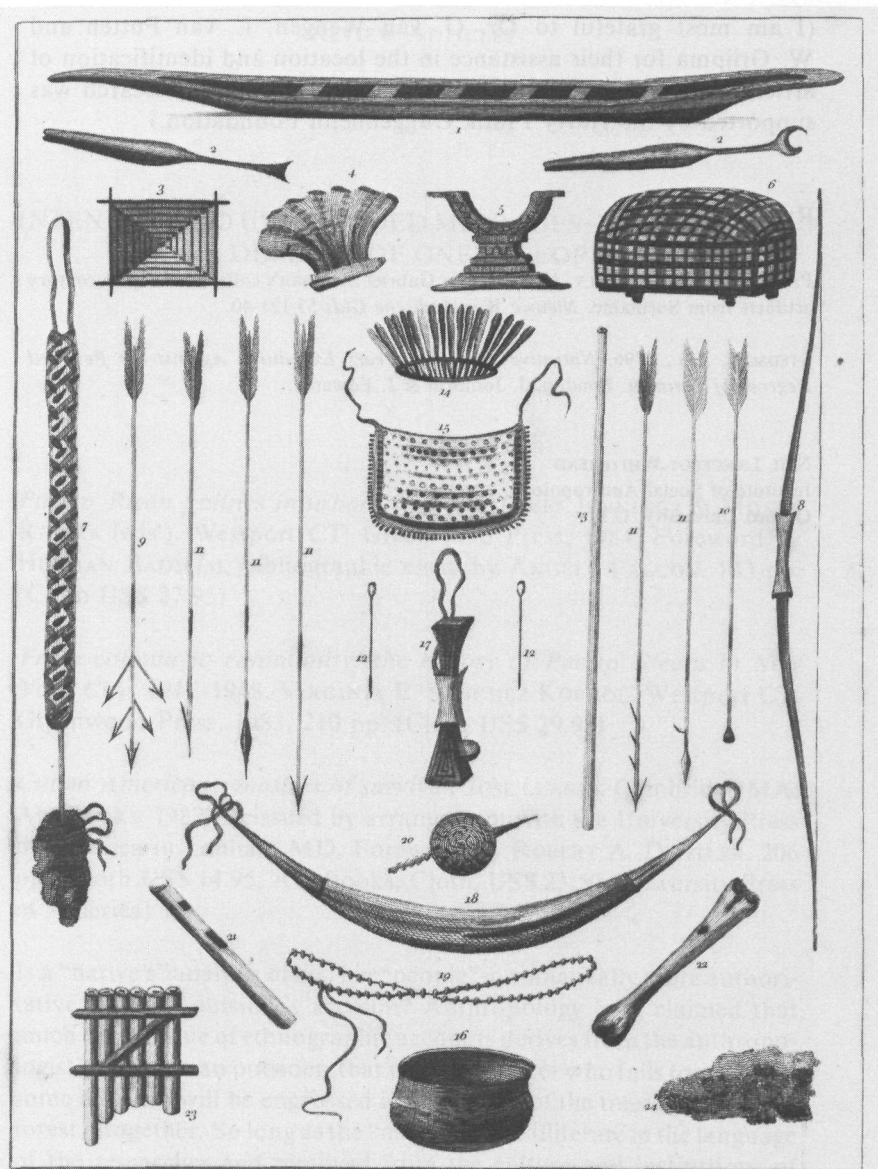
Table I summarizes these findings with some detailed remarks on those objects actually located.

TABLE I

STEDMAN no.	LEIDEN no. 360-	ORIGINAL DESCRIPTION (1796,I: 406)	REMARKS
1	5661	is an Indian coriala or canoe, which is generally made of one tree.	Missing. Probably of Warao origin since they were the major traders of canoes to the Dutch.
2	5661	Paddles in place of oars.	Missing. Probably same origin as above.
3	5662	A sieve called <i>manary</i> .	Located. Of Carib ori- gin. Used for sieving manioc flour, but far too small to be of prac- tical value, thus proba- bly made specifically for the tourist trade.
4	5663	An Indian fan, or <i>way-way</i> .	Located. Of Carib ori- gin; used for tending a cooking fire and iden- tical to modern exam- ples.
5	5664	A stool called <i>mulee</i> .	Missing. Of Carib ori- gin; still being made today. Stedman's ex- ample appears to fol- low the traditional "crab" shape, jaguars and caymans are also often evoked in their design.

6	5665	A <i>pagala</i> or basket.	Located. A small version used for carrying personal items; of Carib origin and displaying motifs representing moving water and insect carapaces.
7	5666	A <i>matappy</i> or cassava press.	Unlocatable.
8	5667	An Indian bow.	Located. Probably of Carib origin, over 6 ft. long, made from hardwood with sharpened ends. It might also have functioned as an impromptu spear.
9	5668	Arrows for shooting fish.	Missing. Arrows of these kinds are common among the Amerindians of this area. Many others may be found in the museum's collection. Missing Unlocatable. Neither this nor the above item were used by the coastal Amerindians. They may have been traded from the interior especially for Stedman's collection.
10	5669	A blunted arrow for birds.	
11	5670	Common arrows barbed.	
12	5671	Small poisoned arrows.	
13	5672	The pipe or tube to blow them.	
14	5673	A crown of various feathers.	Located. The feathers are chiefly those of the macaw and, except in the brilliance of the plumage, this head-dress is identical to one collected over a century later in Suriname which lies alongside it in the museum (no. 1817 N-168).
15	5674	An apron called <i>queiou</i> .	Located. Of Carib origin. Made from red, yellow, black, white and blue beads of European manufacture, strung in diamond motifs, representing an

			insect carapace (see-5665 above).
16	5675	An Indian earthen pot.	Unlocatable.
17	5676	An <i>apootoo</i> or Indian club.	Unlocatable. However, item no. 924-77 in the museum's collection is a club very similar to that shown in Stedman's illustration and the catalogue card refers to the <i>Narrative</i> ; further documentary research might show this item to be part of Stedman's collection.
18	(5677)	An Indian cotton hammock.	Not catalogued. The item bearing the identification 360-5677 is in fact an Amerindian "trumpet flute" or <i>kuti</i> not part of Stedman's collection.
19	-	A sash of tigers' or wild boars' teeth.	Not catalogued.
20	-	A magic shell or gourd.	Not catalogued.
21	5678	An Indian flute called <i>too-too</i> .	Located. Of Carib origin, this example is decorated with the scorpion motif.
22	5679	A flute made of the human bone of an enemy.	Missing. Such items were often traded to Europeans (see above), whose presence on the Wild Coast had induced a state of exceptional militancy amongst the Amerindians of this area.
23	(5680)	An Indian flute or syrinx called <i>quarta</i> .	Not catalogued. The item bearing the identification 360-5680 is in fact an Amerindian flute similar to -5678 (above) and is marked with diamond and frog motifs.
24	-	A stone to grind cassava, called <i>matta</i> .	Not catalogued.



Arms, Ornaments & Furniture of the Indians.

Engraving from Stedman's *Narrative* 1796, I:406-7.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

INTENDED AND UNINTENDED MESSAGES: THE SCHOLAR- LY DEFENSE OF ONE'S "PEOPLE"

Puerto Rican politics in urban America. JAMES JENNINGS & MONTE RIVERA (eds.). Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1984. Foreword by HERMAN BADILLO, bibliographic essay by ANGELO FALCON. 143 pp. (Cloth US\$ 27.95)

From colonia to community: the history of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1917-1948. VIRGINIA E. SANCHEZ KORROL. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1983. 210 pp. (Cloth US\$ 29.95)

Cuban Americans: masters of survival. JOSE LLANES. Cambridge MA: Abt Books, 1982. Reissued by arrangement with the University Press of America in Lanham MD. Foreword by ROBERT A. DENTLER. 206 pp. (Cloth US\$ 14.95, Abt Books; Cloth, US\$ 23.50, University Press of America)

Is a "native's" analysis of his/her "people" automatically more authoritative than an outsider's account? Anthropology long claimed that much of the value of ethnographic accounts derives from the anthropologist's status as an outsider, that the fieldworker who fails to maintain some distance will be engrossed in the details of the trees and miss the forest altogether. So long as the "natives" were illiterate in the language of the researcher and removed from the culture and institutions of power and influence in whose discourse the researcher participated, the question was little more than philosophical and ethical. But as anthropologists came to do more and more fieldwork closer to home over the last twenty years, the problem became practical as well - more and

more of their "natives" proved to be literate in the language of the researcher and had access to the culture and institutions of power and influence in whose discourse the researcher participated. Not only do some of these "natives" now challenge the authority and validity of outsiders' ethnographies; they now write their own.

The anthropological experience sharpens our focus, but the issue extends far beyond its disciplinary boundaries. Alexis de Tocqueville (1968) and Gunnar Myrdal (1944) may indeed have identified the major internal contradictions of American society, but might their characterizations not have reflected Western European ambivalences about U.S. society at least as much as, if not more than, what was happening in the U.S.? North American, British, and French Orientalists may have made great archeological, philological, even historical discoveries, but Edward Said (1978) claims they were primarily guided by a Western perception of North Africa and the Middle East, perpetuated in literary, political, and academic discourse, that reflected the power struggles and differentials between Western Europe and the Islamic world, and had little to do with Arab societies.

Puerto Rican politics in urban America, from colonia to community: the history of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1917-1948, and *Cuban Americans: masters of survival* illustrate the ways in which the issue of authority and voice have entered the discourse on ethnicity. On the surface, these books discuss Puerto Rican political participation on the mainland, the early years of Puerto Rican social and political life in New York, and the lives and self-perceptions of Cuban Americans, but between the lines they seem to be really about semiotic self-determination. Not only are their authors "natives" (with the exception of three of the eight contributors to *Puerto Rican politics in urban America*), but it is clear that they are also conscious of being "natives." In no case do the authors simply acknowledge their status as "natives." Their critiques of existing literature, of omissions in the literature, and of slants in the images so created frequently rest on their distinguishing the native from the outsider. In so doing, they take a position very close to Said's: the implication is that the national/ethnic identity of a scholar determines the relative amount of power and authority s/he has in any depiction or analysis of a national/ethnic group. Outsiders, then, might have the power but the argument seems to be that they do not have the authority.

Angelo Falcon – author of two of the essays in *Puerto Rican politics in urban America* – put it quite explicitly in the first few pages of his discussion on the history of Puerto Rican politics in New York from

1860 to 1945. "It may be puzzling to casual observers," he writes, "that so little has been written about the politics and history of Puerto Ricans in the United States.... One important cause is the overwhelmingly poor and working-class nature of this community.... Another important source of this problem is the general ideological bias of mainstream social science against racial-ethnic and working-class history and politics, as well as that of radical movements." But he goes on to be more specific: "These two characteristics of American social science join in interesting ways with the specificities of the Puerto Rican situation to negate many of its critical political and historical elements. Besides being highly influenced by the research of non-Puerto Ricans, much of what has been written on this experience has been by Puerto Ricans whose personal development occurred primarily in Puerto Rico and not the United States" (pp. 16-17).

Sánchez Korrol's style is far more personalized, but the underlying theme is the same. "The idea for this study," she starts out, "began many years ago when my own children were very young and I attempted to describe for them life as I remembered it in the Puerto Rican community in New York City. Discovering materials on the early settlement to be practically non-existent, *I was unable to reconcile the available writings on Puerto Ricans with my own memories* of a *colonia* soundly structured by strict family values, a concern for cultural heritage, and an identifiable organizational network, so I embarked on a search which led to the study of Latin American history and the writing of this book" (p. xvii; emphasis added). On the second page of her introduction, she illustrates what she means by the available social science writings by referring to the work of Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan. In contrast, she openly and proudly, even rather deferentially, refers to the work on migration and political economy being carried out by fellow Puerto Ricans at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, CEREP (Centro del estudio de la realidad puertorriqueña), and the Puerto Rican Migration Research Consortium – Frank Bonilla, Ricardo Campos, Angel Quintero Rivera, Marcia Rivera Quintero (cf. chapters 1 and 2).

Cuban Americans: masters of survival differs substantively and stylistically from the others, but shares their premises about the greater authority due the "native" voice. The point comes through in Llanes' introduction, his appendix on methods, and the use of "native" voices that constitutes about 90% of the text. Early in the introduction we find what seems to be the most compelling rationale for the book – that the arrival of the Marielitos in 1980 adversely affected the image of Cubans

in the United States, and someone had to come to their defense. Llanes writes:

The events of those days threatened to eclipse all other events in the social history of the Cuban-Americans. The press brought to light the horrors of the exodus, the presence of many mental patients and convicted criminals among the new group. The response of the American public, damning and apprehensive, was based on these stories and no others. Unnoticed by the mass media were a thousand or more stories of bravery and sacrifice which served to balance the grim concerns that these were different Cubans than the ones we had seen before, Cubans sent by Fidel to hurt and burden the American society. The Open Arms policy became the Keep Them Away policy.... This was not a correct view. There was a need to look back in time, to the 21 years of Cuban political immigration, before a complete portrait of the Cuban-Americans could be painted. This was the task I undertook.

...My first task was to compose a sample which in retrospect would provide a well-balanced picture. It is up to the reader to judge whether this balance has been attained, but from my perspective, *the insider perspective* of a member of the group, there is a certain imbalance within the whole group, and it is this imbalance that I have to portray (p. 2; emphasis added).

His three-page appendix on methods couched the issue of privileging "native" voices in what sounds like technical anthropological language. To invoke disciplinary grounding and epistemological validity, he wrote that "the method [he] used to gather these life stories is known as macro-ethnography, in which a purposively selected sample of a defined group is interviewed as the primary source of the data to be studied" (p. 213). The interviews, he claims, were "analyzed in the same way that cultural anthropologists approach their ethnographic data – that is, as a life-size slice of the group's most significant symbolic interactions" (*ibid.*). He ends with a reference to the emic/etic distinction that seems more to legitimate his overly emic approach than to apologize for his lack of analysis. I quote:

Anthropological linguists and other social scientists make a distinction between ethnographic analysis done by an 'etic' person (that is, a person from outside the group under study) and an 'emic' person (who like me is within the group). They maintain that perceptual differences between etic and emic observers tend to influence findings.

I am fully aware that this book constitutes a word picture of a group, drawn by a person who is 'within the frame' himself. I have tried to overcome this limitation in perspective by submitting the manuscript to outside review by social scientists who are 'etic' to the group. In some cases they have contributed analyses which I have incorporated (p. 215).

Cuban Americans: masters of survival clearly takes the most extreme

position of the three. Not only does it present its "data" in "native" voices, but it also seems to imply that little else is necessary, or warranted, other than a few background comments here and there to help the reader understand a reference made by one of its "native" voices. I am willing to entertain the possibility that this might be a brilliant work of avant-garde anthropological writing, rather than an embarrassment to academia, but neither its substance nor its style seems to point in that direction.

Most of all there is an overwhelming lack of rigor in the book's conceptualization, handling of data, and even production. Let us generously assume that the author deliberately chose an experimental, unorthodox style of presentation. That might explain the fact that there are no footnotes, that there are only a handful of in-text references (and all in the 12-page conclusion), that there is a bibliography that is for the most part unrelated to the text, that the table of contents announces the existence of a non-existent index, and that instead of printing the real words and comments of his 187 interviewees (whom he prefers to call collaborators) he "constructed from their conversations and writings 58 characters ...each...a composite of one or more of [his] collaborators" (p. 4). But does Llanes think that he is the first to take such an approach? Or, perhaps, the opposite – that his approach is mainstream enough not to need a well-argued defense and a list of academic supporters?

The last ten years have seen the rise of carefully argued challenges to classic anthropological fieldwork and the ethnographic genre of writing it produced. Some of it, like Derek Freeman's critique of Margaret Mead's fieldwork (1983), has attracted a great deal of attention even outside the discipline. Much of it has raised deep epistemological issues of relevance to all the social sciences (Gadamer 1976; Rabinow 1985). Some of it has been deliberately experimental (Dwyer 1982; Tedlőck 1983; Cesara 1982; Crapanzano 1980). In fact, enough experimentation and concern with the issue existed by 1980–81 to allow Marcus and Cushman to provide a useful and provocative evaluation of the nature of those experimental ethnographies in their 1982 "Ethnographies as Texts." Yet none of it is even alluded to in Llanes' book.

In fact, method does not seem to be the issue here, though it is clearly a problem. Looking at the content of the book, it becomes more and more obvious that the "method" is but a carefully orchestrated instrument for achieving a particular public relations goal – that of creating as positive as possible an image of Cubans in the United States. The subtitle is but a sign of things to come. The volume has an introduction,

three large sections entitled the First, Second, and Third Waves respectively, and a conclusion. What I can only call "PR" work is evident in all of its sections.

The introduction ends with a colorful series of paragraphs on what the author purports to be the three main "symbols" of Cuban American life – *libertad* (freedom), *fraternidad* (brotherhood), and *supervivencia* (the quest for survival). Yet nowhere in the book is there any evidence of his having undertaken careful symbolic analysis. His is, in fact, probably the least grounded and loosest use of the concept of symbol I have ever seen in academic circles, to wit:

Interpreting the words of my collaborators was like staring at a Polaroid picture as it emerges from the camera. As the first basic colors rush to find their places in the light-impregnated negative, so do the first basic themes of Cuban-American symbolic interaction become visible in the symbols they discuss. *Libertad*, [freedom], was the basic color red, the first principle of the human seeking refuge in the United States. *Libertad* is the symbol of individual self-determination. It resonates well with the American principles of individuality and liberty. This resonance frees the behaviors repressed during the time in Cuba and it legitimizes both our virtues and our excesses. *Fraternidad*, [brotherhood], was the basic color blue. It...is the symbolic armor of our collective survival, the bond that makes liberty productive, our guarantee of security...And finally, as the negative blended the yellows and greens, so the stories began to reveal the true nature of the ordeal, the same ordeal as for those who came before us to these shores, *supervivencia*, [the quest for survival].

The three main parts of the book are rich and detailed descriptions of events and opinions, but interestingly the bulk of these refer to Cuba, the process and reasons for leaving Cuba, and the Bay of Pigs invasion, not to social, economic, political, or cultural aspects of Cuban American life today. A section entitled "the Entrepreneurs" does little more than contribute to the cherished image of the Cuban as enterprising, clever, hardworking, and ultimately successful. The First Wave, thus, "reenacts" the great American Horatio Alger story. The middle section contains the chapter with the most potential – the one section on "becoming Cuban-American." Yet Llanes seems either afraid of analyzing these decades of life in the U.S. or afraid of upsetting some Cuban American circles.

He lets two composite characters offer alternative analyses. In one presumably representative of "the bicultural perspective," we see a rosy picture of community building, solidarity, and hard work paying off. In the other which he calls "the cross-cultural perspective," we see some members of the younger generation questioning both the rosy image of prerevolutionary Cuba that still prevails among their elders and the

myth of "the Cuban success story" in the U.S. The best example of the contrasting viewpoints is the way they handle the fact that about 30% of Cuban youths in the U.S. are high school drop-outs. "Luis Losada" presumably says, "Do you know that even though only 30 percent of all Cuban exiles graduated from twelfth grade, over 70 percent of their sons and daughters finish high school, and 80 percent of those go on to college?" (p. 133). On the other hand, "Omar Betancourt" puts it in the broader context of life among the underprivileged in New York:

"When I worked with delinquent adolescents, Cuban and Puerto Rican [in New York], I learned that to do social work in this community is only to patch up one problem while other problems develop. It is very sad for me to have to admit that only 70 percent of our youth completes high school. What happens to the other 30 percent?" (ibid.). The potential for solid exploration of controversial issues is definitely there, but the author ends by invoking the cliché that the glass is both half-full and half-empty.

How then do we interpret the "voices" in Llanes' book? He insists on referring to them as collaborators, but we already know that they are composite characters. He claims that the 187 collaborators were selected "to represent the referent group as a whole, using the following stratifying variables: date of arrival, income, race, age, sex, and education" (p. 213) and that "they compare very well with the estimates of total population available when [he] began the study in 1980" (ibid.), but he acknowledges that they do not compare "so well with the 1980 census" (ibid.). "Presently," he writes, "the sample is skewed with respect to education and age but is roughly representative of the other variables" (ibid.).

But even a cursory glance at the table showing the socioeconomic characteristics of his sample shows how significant the departures are from any representative Cuban American population. Only six variables are listed as having been taken into account. He already admits that his collaborators are older and better educated as a group than Cuban Americans as a whole. He casually mentions the fact that the second wave of arrivals – some 300,000 from December 1965 through 1973 – is underrepresented. It was, in fact, the largest of the three waves of migration, and the one, he admits, that came to the U.S. pretty much having gotten Cuba out of their systems. What we have, instead, is an overrepresentation of the first (1959–62) and third waves (1980) – the first consisting of the socioeconomically privileged with the most at stake in Cuba, and the third too recent to have much to say about life in the United States. But the most glaring *faux pas* has got to be the vast

underrepresentation of women in his sample *and* the fact that he fails to acknowledge it as a problem. *Less than a third* of his sample were women – 30% of the 74 from the First Wave, 40% of the 66 from the Second Wave, and 20% of the 47 from the Third Wave. Could it be that they, like those in their teens and twenties, are less Cuban, less reliable, less articulate, or less successful than the older men?

What has happened to the younger generation? Are Cuban Americans only born in Cuba? If so, what then is the sense of community that Llanes and his collaborators frequently refer to if it does not include any heirs or successors? Clearly if *Cuban Americans: masters of survival* contributes anything to the world of scholarship, it is in tipping the scales *against* the assumption that a “native’s” analysis of his/her “people” is automatically more authoritative than an outsider’s account. Self-depiction is clearly not emic analysis.

From colonia to community is a far more modest and far more scholarly example of the problem of the “native” scholar. This is a solid academic book. It has extensive details and a pertinent, well-integrated bibliography. It is creative in its use of archival materials, census information, oral interviews, and aspects of popular culture. It does not claim to be much more than what the subtitle describes – a history of Puerto Ricans in New York City *before* the mass migration that followed World War II.

Moreover, Sánchez Korrol did choose a topic on which too little research had been done, and even less had been published. She draws on existing academic literature and finds significant omissions and assertions that jar with her own sense of Puerto Rican life on the U.S. mainland during the first half of this century. Here we see the advantages an “inside” scholar can have. She is bothered by the longstanding (though by now less widely held) belief that mass Puerto Rican emigration from the island was caused by overpopulation and “the inefficient use of agricultural resources” (p. 18). She has a perfectly academic set of reasons for finding this simplistic, but my hunch is that what led her, Bonilla, Campos, and Quintera Rivera (whom she cites heavily) to search for an alternative explanation was the *feeling* they had as Puerto Ricans that the older and more common argument was a form of blaming the victim. Whether or not they are correct in viewing the “formation and decline of a capitalist plantation system in Puerto Rico” during “the North American occupation” as the real cause of mass labor emigration throughout the century, they have at least led the way for a debunking of a long-held myth of simplicity.

She is bothered as well by the usual depiction of the Puerto Ricans in

the U.S. as passive immigrants who do little, or nothing, to pull themselves up the social and economic ladder. The popular image supported by non-native scholarship, she argues and *Puerto Rican politics in urban America* reiterates, is that Puerto Rican migrants never organized themselves, never developed a sense of community, and never used the political system to their own advantage until the mid-to-late 1960s. That, too, reeks of blaming the victim without offering, or even searching for, alternative explanations. Dutifully, Sánchez Korrol sets out to show the opposite in a well-conceived series of four chapters that constitute the bulk of this book. The first aims to show the existence of a sense of community, the second the role of women in developing ways to manage and devise strategies for keeping the "community" together, the third the extensive network of clubs and organizations Puerto Ricans did found and use for their needs and services, and the fourth the nature and manner of their political participation.

But here is where the advantages of the "native" end and the drawbacks begin. Most of these chapters are just too detailed – the author apparently too close to the material – to deal analytically with many of the potentially interesting issues she identifies. What is a community? The short conclusion of chapter 3 in the chapter ostensibly dealing with the concept of community is very telling. She asserts the existence of "constituted communities" and reminds us that the chapter has discussed settlement patterns, the fact that there were some Puerto Rican professionals and some Puerto Rican businesses, and the continued use of Spanish in much cultural and social life. But is this all that is meant, or should be meant, by "community"? Does consciousness or assertiveness matter? Need there be rituals creating a presupposed sense of group solidarity? Her opening line "that the pioneer Puerto Rican settlements prior to mid-century constituted communities is indisputable" is little more than preaching to the converted, when her evidence and analysis are so limited.

Chapter 5 on Puerto Rican clubs and organizations in New York during the first few decades of this century is rich in examples of mutual aid societies, trade unions, fraternal organizations, and hometown clubs. It is more convincing than the third, probably because its topic is descriptively defined and straightforward – a discussion of the organizational activities of the early Puerto Rican migrants in New York. Here and there we see the author asking questions that push a bit beneath the surface, though they get overshadowed by the descriptive detail. As she puts it at the end, "clearly the issue is not whether or not a

communal organizational network existed within the pioneer settlements, but rather how such a network managed to survive at all. The predominantly working-class nature of the *colonias* prohibited many migrants from becoming active members of any group" (p. 162). That would have been worth exploring more analytically. However, two sentences later we see what seems to have been her main goal in writing this book – to defend and, where possible, honor the author's own group of identification. She writes, "That groups functioned as they did and received the support from the community which they did is a tribute to the Puerto Rican community structure and to the individual's own sense of commitment" (p. 163).

Her chapter on the role of women seems to me both the most potentially exciting and, thus, in its shortcomings, the most disappointing. Here her being a "native" *woman* must be part of the reason. On one hand, she conceived of the need for a chapter on women. Note how different this book is on that score from *Cuban Americans: masters of survival*. Her feeling that women have been unjustly ignored or described is evident in her reformulation of the issue: "What has usually been classified as idle female chatter provided in essence the tools for handling the unfamiliar situation" (p. 85). On the other hand, Sánchez Korrol's depiction of the women does little more than situate women within the framework of "the family" and describe strategies by which they "kept the family together" – that they did piecework at home, took in lodgers, and developed semi-formal day-care arrangements with each other. Not surprisingly, this discussion of women is fundamentally ahistorical, unlike the rest. There is little sense of years going by, of women or men being affected by social, political, cultural, or ideological changes taking place around them. There is at best some sense of their employment opportunities depending on the ups and downs of the U.S. economy. The chapter feels very thin in data other than demographic statistics. Ironically it's the "native" voices that are missing here – voices other than the author's. What did it feel like to be both a Puerto Rican and a woman? Did they suffer "a rude awakening" as twice oppressed? Did the changing position of women in U.S. society affect their sense of themselves? What happened to sexuality, birth control, their ties to Catholicism, their attitudes to their bodies, and the socialization of their male and female children? How much variation was there in attitudes, opinions, and behaviors? The unexplored questions seem endless. Yet once more Sánchez Korrol's concluding paragraphs return to the theme of tribute and respect. She writes: "Migration and work did not produce major changes in their

roles within Puerto Rican society, for the image of dutiful wives, loving mothers, and respectful sisters and daughters remained paramount to their way of thinking.... Only a handful became factory foreladies or union representatives.... A small group assumed the reins of community leadership, volunteer work, professional, or clerical endeavors.... In most fields, however, decision making remained male-dominated and organizations male-oriented. *Yet subtle messages were filtering down to younger generations. Women worked; women were wives and mothers; women were involved*" (p. 114; emphasis added).

Her chapter on political participation pales in significance next to *Puerto Rican politics in urban America*, though that says more about the richness of the data in the latter and the analytic benefits of bringing "natives" and non-natives together to look at the "natives." This edited collection gains, rather than suffers, from its polyphony of voices. Some are angry; some are distant; some sound like bureaucrats trying very hard to be introspective. Some describe primarily macro-electoral politics; some describe the politics of what they call the poverty-crats; some bring politics to where it visibly affects any citizen – the workplace, the schools, the local businesses, the government's service centers.

Jennings and Rivera's Puerto Ricans not coincidentally sound more consciously working-class and more island-oriented than in Sanchez Korrol's analysis. Much of their political participation long concerned the island rather than the mainland. By the 1960s many had begun to challenge the idea that the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico's Migration Division should represent Puerto Rican New Yorkers, but few seemed willing to make a break. One of Herman Badillo's first acts after being elected to Congress for the first time in 1970 was, ironically, to fly to San Juan to consult with key island officials. Sherrie Baver argues that, with his election, Badillo "became the spokesman not only for all mainland Puerto Ricans but also for Puerto Ricans on the island" (p. 49). In an interview during that trip, she writes, "the new congressman stressed that the island was part of his constituency and pledged to help Puerto Rico get its full share of federal funds" (ibid.).

What is almost completely missing in *Cuban Americans* and mostly little more than alluded to, or assumed, in *From colonia to community* – a sense for the macro and micro institutional structures in which all of these migrants live in the U.S. – is finally amply explored in *Puerto Rican politics in urban America*. Puerto Rican political participation in Boston is not like in New York, and both differ from what there is in Chicago. How the political machines, parties, and local honchos relate

to Puerto Ricans determines to a large extent what doors are open for Puerto Ricans through which to seek to express and/or demand power, and those attitudes and behaviors are themselves largely determined by the structure of governance in each of those urban settings – whether rule is by machine monopoly, plurality and coalition politics, or resource competition through ethnic fragmentation. Puerto Ricans on the mainland are neither more nor less passive than other recent migrants. *All* operate within the *available* political arenas.

On the other hand, one of the most curious aspects of Puerto Rican American life is the persistence of what I would call “the Cuba syndrome.” Puerto Rico is to many, perhaps even most, Puerto Ricans on the mainland much of what Cuba is at least structurally to many Cuban Americans. It is at once “the old country” and the always potential future country. It is the always relevant country. Given the enormous disparity in the social, economic, and political characteristics of these two migrant movements and the far longer residence of most Puerto Ricans on the mainland, I would venture the guess that it must be their shared position as “minority populations” within North American society that lies at the heart of the “Cuba syndrome.” *Puerto Rican politics in urban America* amply demonstrates the invidiousness of discrimination and exclusion in as varied a set of contexts as New York City School Board elections, the management of labor unions, and local municipal elections. None of it could help make most Puerto Ricans feel like they are an integral part of North American society. In fact, both *From colonia to community* and *Puerto Rican politics in urban America* confirm that many Puerto Ricans feel like they are little more than long-term temporary residents of the U.S. That Puerto Rican participation in explicitly political U.S. institutions increased as a result of the “War on Poverty” and has continued to expand since the “ethnicization” of American society both imply that invidious discrimination was more responsible for apparent Puerto Rican political “passivity” than alleged “national character.” Proclaim “the beauty of national/racial/cultural difference,” channel funds for at least partial reallocation of resources, give some of the underprivileged control over those funds, and suddenly they look much less passive.

José Llanes could learn something from this. His Cubans’ idealizations and continued orientation toward the cause of their “exile” aren’t just interesting examples of a different world view. They cry out for explanation and analysis. Could it be that Cubans have become a “minority” – not just an immigrant group or even an ethnic group but rather politically and semiotically a “minority” – in the U.S. despite the

"Cuban success story"? Rafael Prohías and Lourdes Casal (1973) believed as much already back in the early 1970s, but Llanes finds it hard to accept the idea that Cubans may be "an ethnic group." Towards the end of his book, he finally admits it: "Ethnicity... is a new concept to Cubans. Viewing ourselves as an ethnic group puts us into a category of people who in the United States are known by various and sometimes injurious names... Ethnicity as a communal tie will have to wait for further geographic expansion of the Cuban culture and may never be a useful tie. It is a Yankee perspective on us" (Llanes, p. 205).

If *Puerto Rican politics in urban America* is the richest and most successful of these three books, it is, I think, largely because its authors are not just "native" scholars intent on saving or defending their "people," but rather "natives" who understand at both the intellectual and gut level what it means to be a "minority" in North American society – that those who control the political and economic power in the society limit the range of "movement" of those they consider "domestic foreigners" and delimit much of the range within which the relatively powerless may assert their right to self-determination; that individual members of these groups may "pass" but err if they think that that means they have achieved a fair measure of power over their self-determination; and that sticking one's head in the sand may make matters worse rather than better. Even if one wanted to argue that "natives'" accounts are necessarily more authoritative than outsiders' accounts, the point is that we would still have to accord the outsiders' accounts an equal role in our self-depiction since it is the outsiders who created our "minority" identity.

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ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY AND GEOPOLITICS:
RECURRING IDEOLOGICAL THEMES IN CARIBBEAN
INTELLECTUAL CULTURE

Dependency under challenge: the political economy of the Commonwealth Caribbean. ANTHONY PAYNE & PAUL SUTTON (eds.). Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984. xii + 295 pp. (Cloth £ 25.)

Colossus challenged: the struggle for Caribbean influence. H. MICHAEL ERISMAN & JOHN D. MARTZ (eds.). Boulder CO.: Westview Press, 1982. x + 260 pp. (Cloth US\$ 19.50)

The newer Caribbean: decolonization, democracy and development. PAGET HENRY & CARL STONE (eds.). Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues (ISHI), Inter-American Politics Series, Volume 4, 1983. xxx + 348 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.95)

Geopolitics of the Caribbean: mini-states in a wider world. THOMAS D. ANDERSON. New York: Praeger Publishers, Politics in Latin America, a Hoover Institution Series co-published with Hoover Institution Press, 1984. xii + 175 pp. (Cloth US\$ 26.95)

There are thirty-six essays and almost as many contributors to these volumes. The themes cover the geopolitics of mini-states within the U.S. domain (Anderson 1984); the search for influence in the face of the North American "colossus" (Erisman and Martz 1982); the successes and failures of Commonwealth Caribbean "states" in their "challenge of dependency" (Payne and Sutton 1984); and the implications of decolonization for democratization and development (Henry and Stone 1983).

To what extent do these essays reveal a clear understanding of capitalism as practised in the Caribbean and in the wider world? In other words, do these studies take us beyond ideological consciousness?

I

The appearance of Paul Baran's *The political economy of growth* (1957) corresponded with the upsurge in Third World decolonization and independence movements. Since that time, major contributions have been made to the study of Third World political economy and international relations. Dependency analysis has been integrated into studies on the role of small states in the global system. Frank (1972), Oxaal, Barnett and Booth (1975), Taylor (1979) and Bodenheimer (1972) have directed Third World intellectual culture beyond the ideology of the "sociology of development." Dependency/underdevelopment analyses and World Systems theory are the bedrock of radical and neo-Marxist political economy – which must be distinguished from the Critique of Political Economy of Marx. What is the intellectual status of Caribbean dependency analysis?

Oxaal (1975: 32–45) argues that Commonwealth Caribbean dependency analysis adopts an ideology of "economic nationalism" in its debate over Caribbean development problems, priorities and possibilities. Payne (1984: 4–7) suggests that the New World Group,¹ under whose auspices Caribbean dependency analysis emerged, was predominantly radical, nationalist, populist and anti-Marxist in outlook. Unlike Latin America with its rich legacy of Trotskyist, socialist and communist political and intellectual tendencies that were also rooted in the working class movements, the Commonwealth Caribbean possessed no such intellectual, political and working class traditions. On the contrary, the dominant radical ideas were received from the left-wing norms of the Fabian social democratic principles of the British Labour Party.

By the start of the decolonization process the more developed Marxist and socialist minority elements had been purged from (or neutralized within) the dominant political parties and trade union movement (Jagan 1967; Munroe 1981; Watson 1975; Radosh 1969). The expansion of American power and capital in the region after World War II and the use of the Central Intelligence Agency's connections within organized labor in the U.S. and the International Confede-

ration of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) accelerated this process of neutralization, expulsion and cooptation of the left. Therefore, Caribbean dependency analysis which borrowed directly from nationalist and structuralist traditions in Latin America (ECLA, [Furtado, Sunkel *et al.*]), grew up in an environment that was bereft of a Marxist revolutionary intellectual, and revolutionary democratic political, tradition. Demas (1965) was one such classic example in the ECLA structuralist tradition. By the end of the 1960's and into the early 1970's, the limits of import-substitution accumulation strategies were being reached in Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana. Social ferment began to grow and the intellectuals, the workers and the petty bourgeois regimes began to register their disappointment with import substitution.

By that time, the "New World" studies had already started. Lewis'² neo-Ricardian model and accompanying recommendations received the brunt of the New World nationalist criticism. (The attack on Lewis' work was much more an ideological than a scientific critique.³ Both Lewis and his critics failed to realize that the international requirements of modern capitalism can no longer process backward capitalism, as was the case in the 18th and 19th centuries [Watson 1986]). The New World Group's reply to Demas (1965) came from Best (1971), "Size and Survival" and his (1971) "Independent Thought and Freedom in the Caribbean," and Jefferson (1972) and others. These were classic "New Left" arguments eschewing industrialism, and seeming to uphold the petty bourgeois notion that "small is beautiful."

There is no doubt that the New World Group produced relevant and vivid descriptions of the self-evident economic problems facing the Caribbean. *Readings in the political economy of the Caribbean* edited by Girvan and Jefferson (1971) – with major arguments by Alister McIntyre, Lloyd Best, Norman Girvan, Owen Jefferson, Havelock Brewster and George Beckford, among others – is one such case. In this work, McIntyre defines both "structural and functional dependence" (pp. 165–183). Later Brewster (1973) defined economic dependence as a lack of sectoral interdependence. Girvan (1972, 1978) and Beckford (1972) produced some of the most comprehensive radical, nationalist (dependency) statements on the connection between monopoly capital and underdevelopment, in which they drew eclectically from the nationalist and neo-Marxist traditions in Latin America. Girvan (1973) made the connection between the development of dependency economies in Latin America and the Caribbean. His conceptions may have been further radicalized as a result of his sojourn with Samir Amin at UNDP in Dakar, Senegal.

A handful of Commonwealth Caribbean scholars adopted a more overt revolutionary intellectual orientation and became increasingly politically involved in the early 1970s, e.g. the late Walter Rodney (1972, 1975), Clive Thomas (1974), and Trevor Munroe (1972) – but their work had also been marked by its dependency/underdevelopment orientation. The transition of the Peoples Progressive Party (PPP) in Guyana to Marxist-Leninist status by the end of the 1960s, the formation of the Working People's Alliance (WPA) in Guyana, and the development of the Workers Liberation League (WWL) and its successor the Workers Party of Jamaica (1974), were responses to the crisis in the region. The so-called "Rodney Riots" in Jamaica in the late 1960s, the Trinidad Rebellion in 1970, and the revolutionary nationalist and democratic "Black Power Movement" throughout the Caribbean were among the main political indications of systemic crisis. The authoritarian and at times radical state capitalist response to these crises (Stone 1983: 37–63; Thomas 1984: 89–104; Sutton 1984: 43–76), found "New World" and Caribbean dependency theory unable to provide a penetrating analysis. At that time the New World Group basically disintegrated over the question of the Group's political direction.⁴

Reviews of other developments in Caribbean intellectual life (e.g. Brown and Brewster (1974) Greene (1974)), neither transcend prevailing paradigms nor aspire to the status of "critique" in the Kantian or Marxian sense. The problem of small state participation in the global system has been conceptualized in terms of the structural constraints derived from size (geography, population, resource base, technical and administrative capabilities) and the monopolization of power by hegemonic "powers." Lewis (1976, 1983, 1984), Ashley (1983), Benn (1984), Ramsaran (1984) and others have detailed the nature and role of these constraints from a geopolitics-of-dependency perspective that draws in varying degree from economic dependency analysis. Emphasis is placed on openness (dependence on foreign capital, foreign trade, foreign aid, and technical assistance), absence of sectoral integration and interdependence, inability to manage and manipulate economic mechanisms of transformation, and monoculture (oil, plantations, bauxite, tourism, etc.). International relations studies add to this list administrative and bureaucratic dependency in foreign policy formulation and execution, client-state status, inability to chart and pursue independent foreign policies due to leverage that is occasioned by dependence on foreign capital, aid, etc., the national interests of hegemonic powers that limit the options of regimes, and the policy choices

and options that are left open to prudent states. To what extent do the essays under review reflect or transcend the self-consciousness of these past fifteen years?

II

Because economic dependency and geopolitical analysis root their theories in notions of external economic and political domination, they generate liberal, radical and revolutionary conceptions of anti-imperialist reaction. The ideological tenor of the reaction varies with the outlook and theoretical sophistication of the individual. Some of the writers under review examine the role of domestic factors in the reproduction of dependency: for example, (1) the degree of submissiveness or collaboration between local political and economic elites and foreign capital and imperialism (Farrell 1983); (2) the extent to which local capitalists maintain "inappropriate" specializations and manifest inertia in terms of failing to develop the economy (Ashley 1983); (3) the failure to make imperialism respect sovereignty and ideological pluralism (Erisman 1982; Will 1982); (4) the inability to acquire and sustain power in the international system (Lewis 1983, 1984); and (5) the success or failure of regimes to maintain political democracy and thereby keep the communists and Cubans at bay which leads Anderson (1984: 119-124) to classify democracy as a geopolitical variable.

For Anderson, and more so the contributors to Henry and Stone (1983) which stresses the interrelationship between decolonization, democratization and development, the issues of dependency and geopolitical subordination undermine the ability of Caribbean regimes to develop and maintain democratic systems. A major difference between Anderson's conception of democracy and those found in the Henry and Stone volume is that the former derives more or less exclusively from American democratic thought (i.e. political democracy) while the latter tends to see a dialectical interrelationship between the economic and political components of democracy. The essays on Trinidad and Tobago (Parris), Antigua (Richards and Henry), Guyana (Danns and Greene), Jamaica (Stone), Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic (Martinez) and the policy perspective by Horowitz, emphasize this to one degree or another. Yet, Anderson asserts that politics cannot be separated from economic development and social welfare, and contends that access to credit is a significant geopolitical element in the Third World (p. 129).

Dependency, from Anderson's perspective, is a fact of life in the Caribbean. From his positivistic perspective, the U.S. and the Caribbean share an interdependent existence which makes it prudent for the mini-states to respect American national security interests and for the U.S. to provide capital, aid and military support to make democracy viable in the area. Like Stone's second essay on Jamaica (in which he criticizes the Manley regime for confusing popular support for welfare programs with mass support for anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism), Anderson argues that Marxism-Leninism has its major following among the small number of intellectuals in the university, with little or none among the workers and peasants. Others, like Henry and Richards, emphasize the deepening chasm between the "political elite" and the "masses" while the ties between the local political and economic elite and imperialism grow much stronger. They have not necessarily seen this as a congruence of mutual class interests.

Contributions to Erisman and Martz (1982) clearly stress geopolitical issues and perspectives. Erisman et al. contend that the major reaction to American hegemony by Cuba, Grenada, Jamaica, and the Caribbean Basin middle powers proves that, "a colossus challenged is a colossus no more." This notion fits in well with the title of the study. Valenta and Duncan, whose essays dealt with Soviet responses to the Caribbean crisis and Cuba's search for influence in Central America and the Caribbean, follow the traditional geopolitical conception: the Soviet and Cuban alliance represents a threat to American national security interests in the region. By extension, the deepening of this alliance in Central America and the Caribbean represents a greater threat. Martz and Williams analyze the geopolitics of oil in Venezuela and Mexico's Caribbean Basin policies as examples of the struggle for influence by "middle powers."

Unanalyzed in these studies is the crucial fact that these so-called middle powers have been forced to find new markets and allies to counter the stranglehold of U.S. imperialism over their economies. This connection is made in a much more critical way in Maira's essay in Henry and Stone. Lewis raises the geopolitical issues in both Payne and Sutton (1984) and in Henry and Stone (1983). One of the major points he makes is that the attempts by middle status powers to develop some degree of autonomy from the U.S. would itself be a destabilizing factor for U.S. security interests. Attempts by Mexico and Venezuela to promote a peaceful settlement in Central America through the CONTADORA group have been systematically undermined by Washington which would prefer that all these countries mobilize behind

Washington as was almost the case in the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic. But the world capitalist crisis and market contraction dictate that Mexico and Venezuela develop new markets in the region. Finally, Marvin Will's analysis of the Commonwealth Caribbean and Pearson's statements on Central American perspectives of big and middle powers strike a balance between conventional conceptions of economic dependency and geopolitics.

An important and unanswered question in the essays in Erisman and Martz (1982) is to what extent have the Caribbean Basin countries effectively challenged the "colossus" of the North? It is my contention that this question cannot be properly addressed by the ideology of economic and political dependency precisely because the fundamental changes in the world economic and political arena in the last fifteen years require a level of conceptualization and analysis that dependency theory cannot provide. It is not so much the macroanalytic scope and focus of Erisman and Martz that limits the work as it is the way that ideological considerations cloud the conceptual and methodological disposition of liberalism.

In some ways, Payne and Sutton (1984) complement Erisman and Martz (1982). The complementarity is low, however, because while the former conclude that the Caribbean is still "living with dependency," the latter assert that the very challenge of the colossus proves that the colossus is no more. Logically, one may be tempted to conclude that the search for influence represents an end to dependency or a significant diminution of its incidence. Neither is the case. Substantively, the essays in Payne and Sutton on Jamaica (Payne), Trinidad and Tobago (Sutton), Guyana (Thomas) and Grenada (Thomdike) are case studies that show how local regimes have dealt with the problems of capitalism and imperialism.

The conception of dependency under challenge at the territorial level means that these regimes did not face imperialism from a supine position. The essays do not attempt to systematically integrate the dependency theory framework that Payne provides in the Introduction. Dependency is accepted as a fact of life and the authors attempt to show how the regimes responded to it. Each country's specific responses are detailed and it is shown that fortuitous international and/or domestic developments were crucial in shaping these responses: (1) the weakened position of the U.S. in the early 1970's aided Manley's populist nationalist social democratic program (Payne) and this is corroborated somewhat by Stone in Henry and Stone; (2) OPEC oil price hikes after 1972 saved Trinidad which capitalized on PNM

parliamentary dominance to push through a nationalist industrialization strategy (Sutton); (3) absence of a strong rightist opposition in Guyana and considerable left wing mobilization gave Burnham's PNC a golden opportunity to implement a radical state capitalist program; (4) the difficulties and crisis of Grenada's New Jewel Movement Revolution reflected the period when it came and the changing regional and international forces at work.

The regional focus in the study by Payne, Axline, Ramsaran and Sutton is disappointing. They restate old, even if valid, arguments about the crisis of regional industrial and agricultural strategies, and Ramsaran's and Sutton's conclusions about CARICOM-U.S. and CARICOM-EEC relations also restate commonplace arguments. The real problem here is that none of these regional discussions managed to situate CARICOM in the international division of labor and analyze the potential of the state and local bourgeois interests to adopt competitive strategies for entering the world market. In fact, the crisis and failure of CARICOM help to explain the failures of the individual countries. One could add that CARICOM has not even done a creditable job at rationalizing the economy, bureaucracies and administrative services to accommodate foreign capital. The authors thoroughly ignore the role of insular petty bourgeois nationalism in the state and economic sectors in undermining this process. Further, the focus on imperialism with respect to the U.S. and the EEC ignores the crisis in the world economy and the restructuring requirements of monopoly capital.

Essays by Lewis and Benn restate the dependency and geopolitical concerns. Benn overstates the ideological significance of the NIEO proposals, but he never manages to explain why the implementation of NIEO economic proposals would find most Caribbean economies and markets unable to process the requirements of modern capitalism. Nor does he anticipate the chasm between apparently radical nationalism and anti-imperialism on issues such as nonalignment, apartheid and dominance by the MNC's on the one hand and automatic mobilization behind Reagan's CBI restructuring strategy. Again, the ideology of dependency and geopolitics leave much to be desired.

As already indicated, most of the essays in Henry and Stone suggest that authoritarianism has become an important state practice in the Caribbean. It is not clear, even in the very penetrating treatments by Stone and Lewis, that these practices reflect the changing political character and forms of rule of the state in the sense that Thomas (1984) and Watson (1984) have suggested. Manitzas' essay on Cuba offers a

most refreshing contrast to the highly ideological essays in Erisman and Martz on Cuba and the USSR. Among Manitzas' major strengths is that she clearly recognizes and explains that it is impossible for any Third World country to delink from U.S. imperialism and make it on its own. Thus, she provides a useful argument on the dialectical interrelationship between delinking and relinking. It is here that she demonstrates a qualitative change in Cuba's domestic and international "comportment," and avoids the ideological preoccupation and fixations of standard geopolitical (East-West) interpretations. Martinez, Henry, Greene and Danns conclude that dependency is at the root of the authoritarian tendencies in the societies they have studied. This is misleading. Parris' contribution clearly indicates that the Williams strategy was based on the premise that the industrialization program he had in mind for Trinidad and Tobago was not possible without foreign capital and a highly disciplined labor force. One major implication of this analysis is that authoritarian state practices are an integral part of Third World capitalist industrialization. This is also Horowitz's contention. This does not necessarily have to occur in this sequence because, as Thoumi's essay has shown in the case of Haiti, the local bourgeoisie may very well adopt strategies that are inimical to local industrialization. Thoumi did not anticipate the problems that Haiti currently poses for Reaganism: the difficulty of deepening Haiti's integration into the U.S. system in the post-Duvalier period without some degree of political and economic liberalization.

III

What is striking about the four volumes is that not one of them places the U.S. economy at, or near center stage of their analyses. None addresses the fundamental changes taking place in the world economy such as the restructuring of the international division of labor, and the acceleration of the redeployment of finance capital to offshore production sites in certain areas of the Third World. The CBI anticipates precisely these developments and requirements because it is a response to the crisis of U.S. monopoly capital. Restructuring requires imperialism to become active in the normal political processes of Third World countries. Third World mass demands for democratization based upon economic and political democracy and the populist-nationalist and revolutionary democratic norms that inform these demands cannot be readily countenanced by imperialism whether they are emerging in

Manila, Kingston, St. George's or Port-au-Prince. Authoritarian politics and states are necessary to process and contain these popular demands. This is one of the merits of most of the essays in Henry and Stone, but these ideas are at the subterranean level in that volume.

To transcend the ideological consciousness of the age demands a sense of history as a dialectical process, and such an historical consciousness must be able to reflect the meaning of the changes that are occurring before our very eyes. The old neocolonial mode of Third World incorporation has basically run its course. The international socialization of production deepens the division of labor, and the internationalization of capital demands the complete integration of the Caribbean Basin through the CBI into the American system.

On March 3, 1986, Irving Kristol, who effectively articulates high level conservative public opinion in the U.S., noted in the *Wall Street Journal* that the U.S. faces tough choices in dealing with its Third World client-states, many of which (like Jamaica, Grenada and Haiti) cannot even adequately process and utilize small amounts of foreign aid, much less large quantities of direct investment. Mr. Kristol laments their apparent inability to develop and manage basic infrastructure. Yet, they are plagued by revolutionary democratic and nationalist populist demands for democratization, etc. These demands reflect the unstable balance of class forces within and outside the state and threaten to undermine American strategic interests. The challenge of the "colossus," the "challenge of dependency" and the correlation between decolonization and authoritarian state forms are contradictory expressions of this process. It is no longer possible to restructure the U.S. economy or any single Caribbean economy as a viable national (autonomous) entity. Conventional notions of sovereignty become increasingly tenuous. None of this has become totally clear at the international level because of the failure of ideological consciousness to keep up with changes in the material processes and relations of production.

Nonetheless, it is clear in the U.S. that the state and finance capital have devised and implemented strategies to discipline labor: union busting, wage cuts and profit-sharing gimmicks are part of the strategy. Any rapid acceleration of the international movement of capital is bound to be destabilizing and will inevitably pose certain specific risks for U.S. capital, foreign markets, raw materials, etc., especially in the Third World. U.S. officials have publicly acknowledged that crisis and instability in Latin America and the Caribbean Basin areas produce direct and negative consequences for the U.S. economy and

employment. Reagan's militant anti-communist and militaristic foreign policy in the Caribbean Basin area are revealing. He finds the entire CONTADORA meddling to be an irritant. He is not simply interested in limiting Soviet competition as East-West geopolitical perceptions always suggest; it is a matter of life and death for the survival of U.S. capital. The labor-intensive stage of finance capital has already been exported to Third World production zones in East Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean and the rate of profit depends on consolidating this process, as in textiles, electronics, computer chips, medical supplies and information services. East Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean bear out this fact (Watson 1986).

What the nationalist ideology of economic dependency cannot reflect is this objective law-governed process of the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation. Exploitation, unemployment, uneven development, poverty, etc., in the Third World are all attributed to the excesses of foreign capital and represented as peculiar to the Third World; but nothing could be further from the truth. Dependency ideology clamours for localization while discrediting local capitalists and industrialism. Its hostility to local capital is premised upon the failure of the latter to develop the productive forces of industry and labor. Yet, such a program has little hope for success within the nationalist framework, the smallness of the resource base and markets, and the backwardness of the productive forces. Outside of a single CARICOM market, there is no real viability for the individual economies of the Eastern Caribbean, and the main drawback from all four volumes is that this simple fact is not grasped. In this sense, they remain profoundly ideological essays rooted in economic nationalism and geopolitics.

NOTES

1. New World Group was formed in 1962. Part of its rationale was to respond to the crisis that had gripped Guyana since the 1950's. Its origin also coincided with the year of independence in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica. *New World Quarterly* was its intellectual outlet. *The study, Readings in the political economy of the Caribbean* edited by Girvan and Jefferson (1971) contains some of the main statements on dependency by leading members of the New World Group.

2. Sir Arthur Lewis was associated with the Fabian Society in London during the 1930's and 1940's. He opposed the application of open laissez-faire economic policies in the colonies because he was convinced that such policies would hamper industrialization because the local capitalists were not favorably disposed to the development of modern industry. See Lewis 1950: 34-35.

3. Lewis' model was not an import-substitution industrialization (ISI) model per se. In Lewis (1949: 1-22), it is stated that, "Most industries must export or die." To this end he advised Caribbean governments to attract European and North American companies to set up export industries in the region to meet foreign demand for manufactured goods. It was clear to Lewis that Caribbean markets were too small to render ISI industries viable. His support for a federation and customs union was based upon the idea that this would make it feasible to set up large scale manufacturing enterprises on a regional basis and help to solve the unemployment problem. Labor-intensive ISI industries were to be a part of this program as he saw it.

4. The Abeng tendency emerged in Jamaica in 1969, partly in response to the disintegration of New World. It had a more activist, nationalist and anti-imperialist orientation. Its publication, *Abeng*, continued the debate on the "Lewis Model" and advocated a reduction in foreign investment, a state capitalist orientation and self reliance. These were among the social democratic (i.e. populist-nationalist "democratic socialist") programs of the PNP Manley regime during the 1970's. Thus, Abeng carried on the dependency tradition.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Bondmen and rebels: a study of master-slave relations in Antigua with implications for colonial British America. DAVID BARRY GASPAR. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Johns Hopkins Series in Atlantic History, Culture and Society, 1985. xx + 338 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.)

Sugar cane trailed Columbus across the Atlantic, and to get what could be processed from it for Western Europe's seemingly insatiable sweet tooth, a world market elaborated that not merely changed areas of the Americas but transformed them. The sugar plantation emerged as an economic enterprise of the first order. It required a grand scale of operations, a sophisticated integration of production and processing, and an intensive use of the factors of production. It could generate riches. Boom times hit northeastern Brazil in the late sixteenth century, and when decline set in, as it invariably did where sugar monocultures developed, first one Caribbean country and then another moved to the fore of world sugar production. Yet the tale of the sugar plantation in the Americas, like that of Dicken's two cities, recalls the best and worst of times. With sugar booms came land agglomeration, the elimination or reduction of indigenous peoples and small holding whites, and the brutal use of coerced labor on an unprecedented scale. Of the more than eleven million Africans who suffered the misery of the Middle Passage, the plurality ended up as slaves in fields of cane. Planters had to secure laborers to meet world market demand. The slaves, however, repeatedly raised the question of whether planters could be secure from their laborers.

In examining master-slave relations in Antigua during its sugar boom, David Bary Gaspar makes important contributions to the comparative study of slavery in the Americas and, in particular, to the continuing debate about patterns of slave resistance. Although perhaps slighted between the decline of Barbados and the rise of Jamaica as major world sugar producers, Antigua deserves attention. By 1700, less than seventy years after settlement by the English, it had developed a sugar monoculture, and soon thereafter with all patented land taken up by a planter elite, it would surpass Barbados in sugar production. From 1671 to 1763 Antigua imported more than 60,000 slaves. In roughly the same period, the population changed from about forty to about ninety percent black. In short, Antigua had become a slave society.

As his "window" into the slave society, Gaspar cleverly uses Antigua's great slave conspiracy of 1736. Some may argue that stability and acquiescence form the core of history, but precisely during outbreaks of collective resistance do the tensions and contradictions that always lie beneath the surface of society appear for all those willing to see. Conspiracies present analytical difficulties of which Gaspar is well aware. Did the conspiracy really exist? Did anxious or self-serving whites imagine it, manufacture it, or exaggerate it? Can all or any of the testimony pulled from slaves under duress be trusted? Gaspar's meticulous presentation of evidence and argument proves convincing: the conspiracy of 1736 did exist, and it was revolutionary in its conception.

The plotting began against the backdrop of a disappearing frontier and resultant changes in strategies of slave resistance. At the time of the conspiracy about seventy percent of Antigua's 108 square miles had come under cultivation. Opportunities for maroon activity dwindled and, as they did, the slaves had to increasingly accommodate themselves to their enslavement. Yet accommodation created space for more ambitious if less frequent acts of collective resistance. However much the heavy maroon activity prior to 1700 threatened Antigua's planters, in light of what the authorities uncovered in 1736, such activity, properly delimited, had acted as a safety valve against the complete overthrow of the planter regime. According to the testimony, the slave plotters of 1736 wanted to eliminate all whites, take over the entire island, and create a new government. They planned to strike in St. John's, the capital town, the night of an annual ball attended by most of Antigua's notables. Tomboy, a Creole slave carpenter and a leader of the conspiracy, was to have blown them up by secreting

gunpowder in the host mansion. Parties of several hundred rebels each would then assault St. John's, and once strategic points were taken, signals would go out to extend the revolt to the countryside. Luckily for the planters, they postponed the ball. In turn, the conspiratorial leaders postponed the insurrection. But what befell many slave conspiracies in the Americas befell this one in Antigua. Word leaked out; the plot was uncovered; mass executions with *pro forma* gruesomeness followed.

A conjunction of factors had prepared Antigua's slaves to revolt. As Gaspar points out, they had a long tradition of resistance to call upon. The growing slave majority enhanced the prospects for success and the dearth of whites in the plantation economy meant that more and more slaves had to fill skilled positions, which allowed for the movement and communication to conduct plotting. Of the nine principal slave leaders, two worked as drivers and the other seven had skilled and privileged jobs outside the field. Contradictions within Antigua's slave society forced qualifications that compromised planter control over their slaves. The dismal view Gaspar gives of the enforcement of slave laws and of the size and quality of Antigua's defense force – what social scientists might call elite inefficiency – only added to the slaves' chances. And to make the planters' situation ever more precarious, the years before the conspiracy witnessed drought, bugs, and low sugar prices, all of which probably worsened the material treatment of the slaves and which certainly unsettled their lives more than usual.

Gaspar's deft analysis of the conspiratorial leadership should warn students of slavery away from accepting the simplistic distinction between African phases of collective resistance for the early history of the British Caribbean and later Creole phases. In 1736 the majority of slaves in Antigua appear to have been Creole. Nine out of the ten principal leaders of the conspiracy were Creoles. But the supreme commander appears to have been an older, African-born, Akan-speaking (Coromantee) slave named Court who managed to bring and hold together a coalition from the Creole slave majority and from the substantial Akan-speaking slave minority. Gaspar dissects the testimony about the recruitment and initiation of the conspirators to argue that whatever the internal tensions, whatever the possible differences about goals, African and, specifically, Akan culture predominated in the conspiracy. Since many of the Creole slaves were only one generation removed from African parents, "the Coromantee-Creole coalition was, strictly speaking, not a triumph over divisive ethnic differences... but represented instead the fusion of two social groups of different

status within the slave community... Along the lines of status differentiation in Akan society, the Coromantees may well have been regarded as *elders*, the wise ones, because they had direct experience of the African homeland, while the Creoles, who had not had that experience, may have been regarded as the *young men*, who represented the strength, energy, and backbone of the community" (pp. 237-238).

Gaspar's concluding remarks should clear away some of the muddle around the argument put forth by Eugene Genovese (1979) for the Saint Domingue slave revolution as a turning point in Afro-American history because it marked the integration of slave resistance into the Age of Democratic Revolution and, therefore, slave resistance against the system of slavery per se. Factors internal to Antigua spawned a revolutionary conspiracy more than fifty years before the Saint Domingue Revolution. But Gaspar, unlike Michael Craton, understands that Genovese's argument does allow for earlier examples of revolutionary slave resistance.

Gaspar has written a judicious and impressively researched book. It should stand with Elsa Goveia's *Slave society in the British Leeward Islands* (1965) as the seminal work in the field.

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Columbus Memorial Library, *Travel accounts and descriptions of Latin America and the Caribbean, 1800-1920: A selected bibliography* (Organization of American States, Washington, D.C. 1982).

Latin American politics: A historical bibliography, Clio Bibliography Series No. 16 (ABC Clio Information Services, Santa Barbara, 1984).

Bibliographers have been indispensable and highly appreciated participants in the research process and scholars owe them a deep sense of gratitude. As new technologies become available, the question arises: Will bibliographies of the kind that we have been accustomed to continue to be dispensable? That is a matter to be decided in the not too distant future. For now researchers welcome bibliographical assists when they actually serve that purpose.

One of the volumes under review does serve a useful purpose, the other probably does not.

Travel accounts and descriptions of Latin America and the Caribbean: a selected bibliography is in a sense an expanded version of Tom B. Jones' *South America rediscovered* (1949) without his brief but often astute annotations. What the compilers have done is to arrange alphabetically according to author and geographical divisions works to be found in the Columbus Memorial Library of the Organization of American States. To be included in the volume a work had to be authored by a writer who was not a native of the area and who recorded his impression between 1800 and 1920. The thought behind the idea is that peoples would see themselves as others saw them. That is good. What is not so good is that titles listed do not circulate, and books with an imprint-date prior to 1920 are not lent through inter-library loan. This raises a question: Why do a bibliography of books that can be used only on site, particularly when most of the titles can be found in, say, a half dozen research libraries that lend? I frankly do not find the case for such a bibliography very compelling.

Latin American politics: a historical bibliography has little in common with *Travel accounts*. The latter is concerned with books, the former with articles. *Travel accounts* does not go beyond providing bibliographical data (there are a few drawings), *Latin American politics* includes abstracts (similar to the kind found in the *Handbook of Latin American studies*) of articles appearing in dozens of periodicals during the decade 1973-1982. The abstracts are brief to be sure, but long enough to give the potential reader a fair idea of what to expect. Entries run in excess of 3,000 and are arranged by geographical divisions and alphabetized by author. One chapter containing over 500 entries is devoted to articles of a general nature. That there are more entries on Central America than on Argentina suggests how subject to change are scholarly interests. But despite the attention to Central America, Mexico and Cuba continue to be the foci of research interest. There are subject and author indexes.

The compilers assert that "...this volume offers an in-depth represen-

tation of scholarship published in the world's periodical literature on this subject" [a decade of journal literature on modern Latin America and Caribbean politics since 1914]. I have found no reason to quarrel with that assertion, although undoubtedly some items are missing, either through error or selectivity. Also, I wonder about the need to provide English translations of titles appearing in foreign languages. Isn't it reasonable to assume that if a researcher cannot translate a title, he/she probably will not get much out of the article itself? But that may be on the picky side. This is after all a valuable research tool and affirms that a bibliography well done still can have a treasured place in the research process.

Researchers and librarians should give some thought to ordering *Travel accounts*. There is no doubt whatever about the many time saving advantages in having *Latin American politics* on reference shelves.

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Something rich like chocolate. Aart G. Broek, (Editorial Kooperativo Antiyano "Kolibri", Curaçao) 1985 (US\$ 16.50)

Aart G. Broek's *Something Rich Like Chocolate* defines the study of literature as an active endeavor. His text is a course outline and workbook whose offerings span from the formation of the *Beacon* group and the early "barrack-yard" tradition through Reggae and its influence on recent fiction. The student who works through Aart Broek's course of study will first of all learn that there is no single method or approach to be memorized and passively applied to literary texts. Rather, the study of literature is a process of asking questions whose answers are not an end in themselves but a means for asking more questions. Mr. Broek teaches by making comparisons, reassessing conclusions, asking students to look into the texts and into themselves and their historical situations. This is a challenging course of study. Compared with any one of the existing anthologies of Caribbean literature one might adopt as the central text for a course, Mr. Broek's workbook is far more engaging, offers interesting and varied tasks, and is, finally, most comprehensive. I highly recommend it as the

core text in a secondary level class on Caribbean literature; and I think it might also serve as a guide for university level teachers of West Indian literature outside the region, particularly in North America.

Let me explain what I mean when I say that Mr. Broek's textbook makes the study of literature an active endeavor. He begins by asking students to consider just what is meant by Caribbean writing: the geographic area it includes, the types of texts, the authors and their backgrounds. These are not simple questions when applied to the Caribbean. Mr. Broek eventually narrows his text to English speaking authors and narrative fiction rather than poetry. Nevertheless, in asking students to reflect upon the bases for selection, he demonstrates how one goes about defining a field of study. For my part, I would have preferred the inclusion of a selection from the Spanish and French Caribbean if only to break down the confining notion of West Indianness which perpetuates the colonial heritage throughout the English speaking Caribbean and enhances an insular and divisive conceptualization of the region. A selection from Alejo Carpentier's *The kingdom of this world* would have provided important comparisons with the cultural interests highlighted in the selections from Michael Thelwell's *The harder they come* and William Michael's *Icheal Torass*. I would also have brought in Paule Marshall's *Brown girl, brownstones* to focuss on the experience of immigration, which Mr. Broek mentions in general discussion but does not thoroughly examine in his choice of texts. Marshall's inclusion would also have augmented the number of women writers represented in the text, whose selections from Sylvia Wynter and Jean Rhys are balanced against a preponderance of male writers. These include C.L.R. James, Roger Mais, Orlando Patterson, V.S. Naipaul, Samuel Selvon, George Lamming, Garth St. Omer to name some but not all. It is interesting to note, however, that Mr. Broek does call his student's attention to the importance of the Spanish speaking Caribbean when, in conjunction with William Michael's prize winning novel, he urges students to write to Casa de las Americas for more information on the West Indian novelists they have published and the annual prize awarded to Caribbean writers in English. This is another example of Aart Broek's method of actively involving students in literary questions. He also recommends students to contact Greenpeace and Amnesty International as a way of documenting the themes of environmental and human abuse that inform Caribbean writing. Finally, he suggests students write to the Nobel Foundation, demanding to know why only one writer from the region has been awarded the Prize for literature. This is

a particularly provocative question, one that underscores the politics of value and the problematics of cultural identity in the post-colonial world. Mr. Broek brings such questions to the level of the students' concrete awareness, asking them to search out the publishing houses, libraries and book stores that carry Caribbean writers, and to expect and demand that texts be made available.

Such concerns demonstrate for the student that literature is crucial and that the study of literature is a confrontation with fundamental political issues and human problems. Mr. Broek demands that the student become an active investigator just as he shows himself to have a lively attitude towards teaching. This is manifest in the diverse material assembled and compiled in his textbook, including excerpts from the novels, drawings, newspaper clippings, lyrics from popular songs, and Aart Broek's own questions, assignments and marginal comments. The text asks to be read on many levels and in many directions. What's most interesting is that the textbook's bits and pieces do not result in a fragmented hodge-podge but, instead, produce a sense of wholeness, which I think is the success of Mr. Broek's pivotal questions and the cultural centeredness of the literature itself.

Text and context are given equal attention in this workbook. Questions and comments posed in the margins and suggestions for assignments are the means for raising cultural and historical issues; while formal literary features (like point of view, style, intertextuality, mode of discourse) are most often treated in Mr. Broek's summary explanations. Brief historical sketches accompany the selections and certain recurring themes are developed in relation to several texts. These include alienation, individual vs collective action, the failure to achieve commitment, and the desire to define alternative life-styles. Throughout, Mr. Broek is a provocative guide whose text, I'd say, would not overpower another teacher's presentation; but would, instead, enhance discussion and stimulate other points of view.

For his conclusion, Mr. Broek again chooses not to give his students an answer but to test their powers of questioning and interpreting. This he does with a selection from Wilson Harris, given with no more teacherly comments than the directive to apply all that has been learned to bear in the analysis of the story. This open-ended final assignment emphasizes Mr. Broek's conception of literature and its teaching as active inquiry rather than passive absorption. *Something*

rich like chocolate satisfies in equal proportion to the demands it makes on a student's ability to work and his or her capacity for curiosity.

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Myths of a minority: the changing traditions of the Vincentian Caribs.
C.J.M.R. GULLICK. Assen: Van Gorcum, Series: Studies of developing countries, no. 30, 1985. vi + 211 pp. (Paper Dfl. 37.50)

The existence of more than two thousand Caribs on St. Vincent in recent times has been obscured by the extensive publications of Douglas Taylor and more recently by the work of Nancy Owen and Anthony Layng on a similar number of Island Caribs concentrated on the Carib Reserve of Dominica. Although the Vincentian Caribs' story is amply documented in historical literature, they have been relatively inconspicuous in studies of the region. In fact, "most whites in St. Vincent did not even know there were any Caribs on the island" (p. 24). An awareness of their presence today and a better understanding of their past is now possible thanks to *Myths of a minority* by C.J.M.R. Gullick (Lecturer in Anthropology at the University of Durham, England), who studied the Black Carib in Central America and did field work in St. Vincent in 1970-71, and whose 1974 Oxford thesis was "Tradition and change amongst the Caribs of St. Vincent."

Gullick tackles a complex subject and in the process has written a book which is at once an ethnography of contemporary Vincentian Caribs; a history of Island Caribs in general and the Vincentian Caribs in particular; and a reconstruction and analysis of Vincentian Carib myths and traditions with which are integrated the myths and traditions of Dominica's Island Caribs and Belize's Black Caribs. Throughout is woven the main theme of the book, that for centuries Carib traditions have been used as social distancing mechanisms creating "us" versus "them" oppositions and thus preserving Carib identity as virtually all distinctive Carib culture disappeared.

Caribs' definitions of "Caribness" show considerable flexibility depending on traditions and situation despite the Caribs "having almost the same culture as the Afro-American peasants who form the majority

culture in St. Vincent" (pp. 1-2). The modern Vincentian Caribs are descendants of those who remained after at least 2,300 Caribs were deported by the British to the Bay of Honduras in 1797. Most divide themselves into Black Caribs and Yellow Caribs, although phenotype apparently plays no role, but residents of several villages call themselves "Carib" without specifying type. On the island Gullick also differentiates between traditions of the Northern Caribs and Greiggs Caribs. Island Caribs are the pre-1650 Caribs known also as Red Caribs.

The book primarily consists of chapters alternating a study of history and myths with a study of culture and myths for each of several periods between 1498 and 1945. Preceding and following these are chapters on the Vincentian Caribs of 1970-71. The final chapter is an excellent summary of major changes which have taken place in Carib culture between 1650 and 1971, reviewing how "the 'true' traditions of a minority grouping may develop to defend their ethnic identity, even though the identity itself is highly nebulous" (p. 186).

In the ethnographic reconstructions Gullick focuses on the life cycle, emphasizing male and female roles in several useful tables. He also traces changes in social structure and in the curing system. He points out that the word "slave" as used by early Caribs may have meant "son-in-law" (pp. 37, 42) and that the Caribs were probably never cannibals (pp. 43, 59). Tales of cannibalism may derive from a legendary past emphasizing human similarity to animals or from the "origin myth behind the scarification ceremonies of puberty, fatherhood and chiefship which was converted [by the Europeans] into anti-Carib propaganda" (p. 59).

In analyzing oral traditions and their functions, Gullick adapts the methods of Vansina and Lévi-Strauss. He reconstructs the most reasonable relationships among Carib myths from St. Vincent, Dominica and Central America using elaborate stemmas to show chronological and geographical as well as content variations in the tales. He analyzes the tales structurally emphasizing Nature/Culture, Spirit/Human, and especially us/them oppositions. In the prehistoric period, he concludes, myths differentiated Caribs from other Amerindians, while in historic periods they separated Caribs from Europeans, and Black Caribs from both Yellow Caribs and Afro-Vincentians.

Gullick demonstrates ways in which tradition creation is an ongoing, dynamic process. Modern written histories of the Amerindian past shape Carib views often replacing or altering older oral traditions. He

provides fascinating documentation of modern myth-making by examining how actual events entered Carib folklore and were used to sustain their minority status during his fieldwork. Thus his study ably integrates historical and modern perspectives on the long-gone and the living Caribs.

Gullick's study in which tradition and myth-making serve to protect ethnicity is convincing and presents an interesting contrast to the recently published work by Layng (1983) which describes Carib ethnic identity on Dominica as determined exclusively by residence on the Carib Reserve. Reference to an earlier study by Owen mentioning how the Dominica Caribs manipulated legends and stories as one of several ways of asserting and maintaining their ethnic identity (1975: 389) was also not included by Gullick but could have been used as inter-island support for his theme.

Concluding the book are useful chapter notes, and a detailed bibliography. Indexes of tales, songs, riddles, and proper names provide easy access to points made in the main text. Missing, and badly needed, are maps of the region and of St. Vincent. The volume would have benefited from closer editorial scrutiny. Nevertheless this study is an impressive work of scholarship, a difficult synthesis and analysis of Carib traditions and their roles in evolving interethnic relations over nearly five centuries.

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Peripheral capitalism and underdevelopment in Antigua. Paget Henry. New Brunswick and Oxford: Transaction Books, 1985. 274 pp. (US\$ 24.95)

A world systems perspective is descriptively useful in accounting for the dynamic of the West Indian historical experience. After all, these were societies whose very existence was the consequence of the expansion of European capitalism and whose subsequent experience was profoundly influenced by the colonialism under which they were governed. It would literally be impossible to examine Antigua's past, for example, without placing it in such an international context. Accepting Paget Henry's usage that "peripheralization is the process of subjugating a country for purposes external to it," (p. 4) there is no difficulty in agreeing that during the colonial period "peripheralization resulted in the creation of an export-oriented plantation economy in which ownership, demand, accumulation and control over investment decisions were located in the center," (p. 201) accounting for Antigua's underdevelopment.

In the post-colonial era, however, the use of peripheralization as an explanatory variable is more problematic. The fact that Antigua's relationship to the world economy is that of a dependent supplier of tourism is beyond question. But to assign that role to an act of peripheralization, as Henry uses that term, is misleading. This is especially so since much of the evidence and analysis which he himself provides points to a different conclusion.

On an analytic level Henry argues that the current "monopoly period" of world capitalism has generated, in addition to primary exporting, "a wide variety of other modes of insertion that are based on dependent industrialization and quasi-staple production." (p. 101) What determines whether a country is successful in taking advantage of these new opportunities is determined by its own internal circumstances. According to Henry, the availability of large markets, resources and incentive legislation tends to make a country attractive to foreign investors. But so too does the existence of a local bourgeoisie which has already gained "some control over the process of capital accumulation" and the presence of a supportive "state elite." (p. 101) While all of this is true, Henry does not face up to the methodological consequences which they imply. For this attention to domestic variables stands in contradiction to the world systems' emphasis on the determinant character of external factors in accounting for patterns of change in underdeveloped countries.

On an empirical level it is true, as Henry notes, that Antigua itself has industrialized only to a very limited extent. However, in the years since World War II social change in the country has been substantial, a fact which Henry explicitly recognizes. He summarizes these developments

as "the transition from an authoritarian colonial state to a democratic nationalist state; the transition from a plural colonial system to a national Afro-Caribbean cultural system; and the transition from a colonial plantation economy to a peripheral service economy." (p. 204) It is hard to miss seeing in these changes an enhanced ability for the members of Antiguan society to achieve a greater degree of autonomy, at least culturally and politically, than was the case in the past. But Henry fails to see in these developments the need to adjust his analytic framework to accommodate these new circumstances.

It is confusing, therefore, that Henry writes of "increasing peripheralization in the contemporary period." (p. 1) The opposite clearly has occurred. Obviously none of the advances which have emerged in the country has been sufficient to change Antigua's peripheral status in the international economy. But to say that is not to say that the country has been subject to an increased process of subjugation.

Once it is acknowledged that to be on the periphery is not inconsistent with an enhanced degree of autonomy, focus can shift to the question of the extent to which the region has been able to take advantage of the increased opportunities which are available to it. It is in this connection that attention should turn to the limitations of the region's post-World War II nationalist movements. This is a subject about which Henry has important insights. But because his analytic framework commits him to an emphasis on external forces, he does not assign it a sufficiently important causal role. He thereby understates the significance not only of local achievements and failures, but more importantly, the potential which is present for further advancing the region's self-reliance.

Economic nationalism has never been a major part of the agenda of the region's political movements. Anti-colonialism, laborism, and even socialism have been important. But an economic program to overcome the region's productive weaknesses, a program which involves, but cannot be confined to economic integration, has not been articulated as a high priority. Yet it is only by developing a local technological and productive capacity that the region will be able to maximize the extent to which its path of development will be of its own choosing. As Henry insightfully notes, the nationalist movement addressed the need to redistribute economic resources. However he pays insufficient attention to the fact that it never adequately spoke on behalf of the need to promote the region's economic development. This failure meant that industrialization by invitation became a functional necessity at the time of independence. It also meant the perpetuation of dependency

into the post-colonial era, a dependency which can only be overcome with the construction of the institutions, incentives and capacities necessary to allow the people of the region themselves efficiently to produce and market commodities and services in world markets.

Paget Henry's book on Antigua is useful in delineating that country's successes and failures in fashioning a satisfactory process of change and development. But because of its reliance on a world systems framework it treats too lightly both the opportunities in the past and those which will arise in the future for the country and the region to promote its own agenda of advance.

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Little England: Plantation society and Anglo-Barbadian politics, 1627-1700. GARY A. PUCKREIN. New York and London: New York University Press, 1984. xxiv + 235 pp (cloth) (US\$ 39.50).

In the inter-war era, historical writing on seventeenth century Barbados, and indeed the British West Indies, was dominated by British historians of the Oxford school, most notably V.T. Harlow. Within the indigenous radical historiography which emerged after the war, however, these metropolitan scholars came to be regarded as uncritical apologists for the Colonial Office and ideological defenders of Empire. Simultaneously, a North American based West Indian historiography led by L.J. Ragatz, C.M. Andrews, F.W. Pitman and G.L. Beer also made a profound impact upon the interpretation of early Barbadian history. The charge which West Indian scholars levelled at these northern historians is that their exposition of an all-embracing Anglo-Americanism in which the West Indies, Barbados in particular, represented the exotic, ultramaterialistic and decadent sub-section of the wider philosophically propelled drama, contained the seeds of a new imperialism which also had to be resisted.

Puckrein conceived his book as an attempt to reject both these interpretive impositions, and to find an acceptable balance whereby the island is seen as having an independent historical validity and an inner logic of its own. In particular, he criticises the English historians for their assertion that the early political culture of the island was

essentially informed by ideas and conflicts germinated in the metropole. In terms of his stated intention, however, his results disappoint in so far as the book clearly resides within an uncontrolled narrative mould as represented by the Bridenbaughs. This approach is not characterised by methodologically sound investigation nor a rigorous conceptual analysis of internal structure and social dynamics.

The author's thesis is clearly outlined, though not convincingly argued. He intimates that the demands of slave society were the principal factors involved in shaping its political culture. Furthermore, that the policies and politics advanced by the colony's power elite in response to the English Civil war, Commonwealth and Restoration, had more to do with the primary and overriding task of manipulating thousands of rebellious slaves and unruly white laborers, and the overall management of a plantation export-oriented economy, than with the ideological currents flowing across the Atlantic from England. The planter elite, accordingly, is conceived as constituted by political pragmatists *par excellence* and ultra-materialists who were more obsessed with the task of turning a large and quick profit than responding to the intricacies of English politics.

This thesis is clearly an attractive one, but the author's handling of its supportive logic is intellectually undeveloped. It is weakened by the employment of a series of assertions and too few references to specifically relevant evidence. For example, there is no detailed treatment of the planters' political consciousness as it was affected by the constant and increasingly sophisticated slave plotting, the rebellious Irish Catholic poor who had declared themselves, since the 1640s, as supporters of rival France. Furthermore, the proletarianisation of thousands of indentured servants and small planters affected the political culture in many ways, yet, the author provides only a superficial narrative on these themes.

The evidence and argument advanced in Chapter Two on the birth of the planter-class are already well known. Though frequent references to the English background of its most prominent members provide interesting reading, it does not sharpen the economic conception of them as a revolutionary entrepreneurial class. The author clearly fails to provide a rigorous analysis of these slaveholders as probably the most progressive and aggressive socio-economic element within the emerging North Atlantic capitalist economy. Extensive genealogical knowledge of the most successful among them cannot adequately substitute for an incisive approach to the subject of class formation and corresponding ideological patterns.

The economic history of the island between 1627 and 1680 has been extensively investigated and the findings are familiar to most scholars of West Indian history. This material provides much of the background for the author's study of the political process. However, the result is a rather lopsided vision of an elite whose primary achievement was not its refusal to flatten the island with Cavalier-Roundhead warfare, but its success in transforming this frontier outpost into the most profitable agrarian economy in the New World during the century. On the related subject of property accumulation and social status there are some fresh, but minor findings, such as the surprisingly large number of large estates owned by absentee mainland colonists. These observations might one day yield new insights if fully investigated. In addition, the extensive demographic data tabulated in Chapter Nine have already been published by Dunn in two separate places and integrated into his socio-economic analysis in a more imaginative manner.

In Chapter Three the author looks at the development of the plantation household from the 1640s when Blacks were a small demographic minority to the 1680s when they outnumbered Whites two to one. He argues that the household, which was multi-racial in form, included masters, servants and slaves, and was the primary institutional force in the creolization process whereby Africans and Europeans forged relationships and established the social ground rules for mutual survival. Such a household, he claims, was characterised by both African and European cultural norms, and represents a useful microism for the study of the origins of race relation ideologies in early plantation America. His objective in this chapter is to illustrate that the early planter elite possessed no coherent nor formal ideologies of race prejudice and that the division of labor was not based upon racial criteria. These ideas are not convincingly argued owing largely to the use of a narrow conception of race prejudice. Dunn's argument that these early planters saw Blacks as a primitive and heathen race who should be treated as permanent chattel slaves, emotionally alienated from their households and distanced socially from all areas of their socialisation, remains more fully documented and convincing.

On the whole, then, this work adds little to our general knowledge of early Barbadian political culture. Though it succeeds in illustrating the simplicity of Davis's study of Roundheads and Cavaliers politics on the island, this achievement is not to be over-valued as Davis was no heavy-weight but an amateur historian who merely sought to illustrate in an unsophisticated manner how Englishmen brought to the island a full package of political ideas and practices which were immediately

planted in the new social soil. In addition, it fails to reduce the interpretative credibility of the traditional historians, such as Andrews and Harlow, which was one of the author's immediate tasks. Instead, it remains trapped within their conceptual orbit and does not successfully chart an alternative path. Perhaps, had the author paid more attention to the wealth of wills, deeds, inventories, minutes of Council, and other data found in the Barbados Archives, the work might have reached closer to the bone of the Barbadian structure than that of the earlier historians who he unsuccessfully attempted to debunk.

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